

HANGING BY A THREAD: INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING
AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION IN A COLOMBIAN CITY

BY

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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This study of one sector of the urban labor force describes women's role in social reproduction of the working class in the garment industry. Women's labor force incorporation is considered as one aspect of the broader struggle by households to ensure their social reproduction. Based on 110 interviews with home-based and factory workers, the research analyzes the impact of factors such as the domestic cycle of the household and the life cycle of the women on their participation in the labor force.

Women's domestic responsibilities and social relationships in the household limit her options in the labor market. This study found that women with additional household responsibilities (especially wives and mothers) were more likely to participate in home-based production. However, female heads of household were more frequently found in the factory where they can command higher salaries. Further, differences in

household composition led to different social relationships which were correlated with different authority patterns within the household.

At the workplace level this research demonstrated how informal methods of contracting labor are increasing due largely to growing international competition which requires cheaper labor to produce less costly goods. Recent restructuring of production in the garment industry in Colombia is a significant mechanism incorporating home-based workers and small and medium sized factories into the process of production in the garment industry. This increasing informality of contracts affects not only subcontracted industrial outwork but also labor relationships within the factory (especially the factory with solely domestic capital) making them less stable. This increasing informalization of the labor market and utilization of subcontracting leads to increasing subordination of women's position in the labor market.

The research concludes that the restructuring of production at both the national and international level, while increasing employment options for women, reinforces their subordinate position in the labor force. The fact that women are now major economic providers for the household demonstrates the increasing vulnerability of these units. Since women traditionally have been relegated to the most precarious economic positions, it is no surprise that they continue to represent a vulnerable and exploited labor force. As women's economic contributions to the household rises at the same time as factory wages are falling, the possibilities for social reproduction of the working class become more difficult. The households are "hanging by a thread," a slender thread frequently provided by the salary of the women workers.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Pienso que de pronto que explotaban las condiciones de la mujer. Porque son mas responsables. Hay mas permanencia de las mujeres en los puestos de trabajo por la necesidad...

Dofia Constanca, trabajadora social del SENA en Pereira

I think that, just maybe they exploited the conditions of the women...Because they are more responsible...There are more women who stay in jobs because of need...

Dofia Constanca, Social Worker in SENA in Pereira

This research analyzes the relationship between the organization of gender roles in the household and women's labor force incorporation, in order to explore the impact of industrial restructuring in one industrial sector (the garment industry) on social reproduction. This study considers the impact of internal forces of the household and external forces of the labor market on women's labor force participation in an intermediate sized industrializing city in Colombia, South America. The supply of workers cannot be analyzed completely separate from the demand for workers. Economic pressures on the household result from a variety of factors including macro-economic factors such as the current economic crisis inflation, high unemployment and regional

processes of industrialization, as well as micro-economic factors such as the structure and domestic cycle of the household. Household responsibilities considerably constrain women's labor force incorporation. This analysis of the interaction between the household and the labor market considers 1) the impact of household structure and composition on (a) the availability of female labor (Chapter 6), and (b) new patterns of household authority resulting from women's sources of income (Chapter 7), 2) the impact of factory recruitment strategies on women's labor force incorporation, and 3) the impact of changes in the structure of production, due to both regional and national political and economic pressures on women's labor force incorporation and the composition and structure of the workers' households.

The term internal forces of the household refers to material and ideological pressures generated within the household due to changes in the structure and composition of this unit during the domestic cycle. In other words, as time passes, the socio-demographic changes occurring within the household produced by the birth, migration, and death of its members, lead to changes in their material and ideological conditions (Orlandina de Oliveira, Lehalleru and Salles 1989). For example, growing numbers of dependent family members lead to increasing economic pressure on the household's income generating capacity. Migration can increase or decrease the economic pressure on the household depending on whether the one who migrates is an income generator or not. If the individual who migrates contributed substantially to the household income, their migration (if they do not send remittances) increases economic pressure on the household for other individuals to increase their income generation to fulfill the household's needs. Changing material conditions lead to restructuring social relationships in the household, which may, in turn, lead to changed ideologies. However,

these changes are not direct and mechanical. Changes in social relationships within the household reflect new patterns of decision making and the assumption of different authority relationships within the household. Women, whether married, widowed, divorced, or separated are often forced to assume the role of primary income generator. These changes may lead to the women's assuming more authority in the household decision making.

Changing material and ideological conditions of the household strongly influence the way in which women are able to generate an income through their labor force participation, whether as wage laborers, or subcontracted industrial outworkers¹. Social relationships within the household (such as those between the husband and the wife, the father and the daughter, the mother and the grandmother) structure home-based production. For example, the number of people available to assist in home-based production dictates to a large extent, the amount of work which can be performed. The work which is performed in the household, further, also alters the relations themselves. When women begin to work in the household, other members may assume the domestic tasks previously performed by these women. This research hypothesizes that women household heads are less constrained by traditional ideological beliefs of the home as women's primary responsibility as compared to women who were spouses. In addition, wives are under less pressure (economically) to provide an additional income for the household.

Women's labor force incorporation is further conditioned by the demand for laborers as expressed in recruitment strategies of factories and the changing structure of production within the industry. Since June of 1989 the

¹Subcontracted industrial outworkers refers to home-based workers whose work depends on contracts with larger industrial enterprises (the details of these contractual relationships will be discussed in depth in chapter 4).

managers of the multinational garment factory studied in this research expressed the policy practice of hiring only women under 25 years of age with a junior high education, preferably single with no children. Obviously these requirements limit the women who will be hired for work in this factory. This recruitment strategy was not expressed by the domestic factories, only those with mixed (national and international) capital.

In Colombia both the political and the economic situation have encouraged the development of small micro-enterprises subcontracted to the larger factories. In 1984 the government of Betancout introduced a National Plan of Microenterprises in order to increase production and generate employment. This plan was revised in 1988 to assist small-scale enterprises with minimal technological capacity to grow and generate more employment. Political conditions such as the National Plan of Microenterprises fostered changes in the structure of production by facilitating the initiation of new small-scale enterprises. Increasing the number of small-scale enterprises available for subcontracted outwork provided the larger capitalist enterprises with skilled home-based producers looking for a market in which to sell their garments. These changes influenced women's labor force incorporation, augmenting the prevalence of subcontracting in the garment industry.

The description of home-based workers and factory workers presented in this research compares and contrast variables such as household structure and composition, the women's work history (i.e. when do women enter wage labor production, when do they leave this wage labor production to work in the home), and personal history (i.e. age at marriage or first union, her age at birth of first child, etc.). This study hypothesizes that the manner in which women are incorporated into the labor force (1) weakens organized labor through fragmentation of the labor process, (2) restructures production to the benefit of

the large industrialists within the garment industry, (3) increases the penetration of international capital into an intermediate industrializing community.

In order to unravel the complex relationships between women's household and workplace activities, this research considers factors at the level of the household, the workplace, and the regional and international economy. The factors at the household level include 1) household responsibilities such as child care, cooking, and cleaning, which constrain women's labor force incorporation (both in the factory and home-based situations); 2) the relationships of industrial outworkers (once the wide variety of their situation has been described) to the factories; 3) the middlemen and their effect on the working conditions of these women; 4) the effect of women's labor force incorporation on the structure and composition of workers' households (both subcontracted industrial outworkers and home-based workers); and 5) renegotiation of gender relations in the home based on new income sources including the sexual division of labor and authority patterns.

At the workplace level the following aspects are considered 1) the organization of production in the factory; 2) changes in the structure of production, specifically subcontracting, as they affect women's labor force participation; 3) the new emphasis on exportation in the garment industry in this region in the last few years as it affects women's incorporation into the workforce; and 4) the mechanisms used by management to control women's labor in the factory setting.

These factors provide the framework for exploring the following research hypothesis: (1) women's domestic responsibilities limit her participation in the labor force. Therefore women with additional household responsibilities (especially mothers and wives) are more likely to participate in

home-based production than single women; (2) economic pressures on female headed households leads these women to assume positions in the factory, and (3) male-and female headed households differ in household composition and household survival strategies, which in turn lead to different patterns of decision making and authority in the household.

At the workplace level, it is hypothesized that (1) informal methods of contracting labor in the factory are increasing due to the increasing competitiveness of the international market, leading to a search for even cheaper labor, and (2) the emphasis on diversification of exports has been accompanied by an increased production of garments, and increased competition in the garment industry.

This chapter provides a discussion of the methodological tools (both quantitative and qualitative) utilized in the study. Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework, including an analysis of the relationship between industrialization and women's work, the productive and reproductive responsibilities of women, and the changes occurring in the structure of production and women's labor force incorporation with industrial development in Latin America. Chapter Three discusses the history of industrialization in Colombia, focusing on the research sites of Pereira and Dos Quebradas (Dos Quebradas is the industrializing region to the north of the city) in the department of Risaralda. Chapter Four describes the organization of work within the factory, highlighting changes occurring in the relations of production within the factory including mechanisms of control utilized by management. Next, Chapter Five describes the structure of the labor force and subcontracting mechanisms operating within the garment industry. Chapter Six provides a more in depth analysis of the domestic cycle of the households of female workers. Chapter Seven relates the domestic cycle analysis to

authority patterns in the household. The conclusion, Chapter Eight, details how industrial restructuring affects the structure and composition of households, and the strategies assumed by women in the households to assure the reproduction of these units.

Methodology

The investigative process utilized included both quantitative (such as the design, implementation and analysis of a survey questionnaire, and the analysis of census data including data on manufacturing production) and qualitative research methodologies (such as key informant interviews, both structured and unstructured, participant observation, and historical archival research).

I completed the study in several stages. The first stage involved development and refinement of the research survey which had been devised after a 3-month study in the textile city of Medellin, Colombia in 1986. During this stage, census data was consulted in order to determine the most appropriate city for a study of the garment industry. Experts in the area were also consulted for their comments on the study and the survey instrument. In order to address the social construction and reproduction of gender hierarchies, the questionnaire implemented analyzes the influence of family cycles on women's patterns of wage labor; what resources household members exchange; the difference between pre- and postmarital occupational histories; and current insertion into homework and wage labor.

Stage two of the study involved travel to Pereira, and pre-testing of the survey instrument there (see Figures 1.2 and 1.3). During this stage,

government officials, local leaders, university professors and union organizers were consulted to determine the appropriateness of the survey and the study site. Other data on the neighborhoods in the region, the urbanization of different cities in the department, and statistics on the production and exportation of garments was also gathered in determining the history of the garment industry in the region.

The first part of the third phase of the study involved interviewing the factory owners, choosing the factories that would be included in the study, and acquiring lists of workers for the interviews. The second part of this phase of the study involved choosing the assistants, training them, and implementing the survey instrument with factory workers. With the assistance of workers of the Servicio Educacional Nacional de Aprendizaje (SENA, as will be described in detail later), homeworkers were contacted. By December, 1988 the interviews with 75 factory workers from two different factories had been finished, and reviewed. A preliminary summary of the study was presented in Pereira in November, 1988. A preliminary analysis of the data was presented to the Fulbright Foundation in January of 1989.

The fourth phase of the study was initiated on my return to the site in February 1989. During this time I finished coding the interviews which had been completed with factory workers, and continued working with one interviewer. Through her we located some additional homeworkers and found additional factory workers who had not been on the original lists from the factory. In-depth interviews with these workers were completed during February and March. In March and April I worked with SENA officials interviewing home-based workers. In total, 120 worker interviews were completed. Excluding the 10 pre-test interviews, 110 interviews are utilized in this analysis: 35 interviews were completed with home-based workers, and 75

interviews with factory workers (40 from the multinational factory, 35 from the national factory). During this time, I also participated in a seminar sponsored by the local unions and was able to interview the leader of the only garment factory union in the department. In March and April I worked with a women's savings and loan cooperative. Although these women were generally not factory workers, they were very active in the community, and helpful in locating other home-based garment workers.

Survey Methodology

The city of Pereira in Colombia was chosen as the site of research due to the predominance of garment production in the region. The study utilized a number of techniques. The interview was the principal method of collecting information about the home-based workers and the factory workers (see Appendix A for a copy of the survey utilized with factory workers and home-based workers). The goal of this interview was two-fold: in addition to describing the structure and composition of these workers' households (emphasizing income generating strategies), a description of the personal and work histories of these women factory workers was obtained. This was done in order to determine the role of the domestic environment and cycle of the household in women's labor force incorporation. The survey instrument was revised and discussed after a month of research by sociologists and anthropologists in Bogotá. The interview was revised one more time after consultation with other professors and professionals in Pereira, and a third time after conducting ten trial interviews in that city. The initial sample list of workers was chosen (every tenth name in the list of workers) by the personnel

manager of the large export factory. This list, however, was expanded utilizing the snowball method to discover other workers.

The interview schedule addressed concerns of the women workers (determined, as previously mentioned by pre-tests of the survey with the women workers, discussions with community workers in Pereira, and university professors familiar with the sociology of the region). The interview described and analyzed the women's material conditions, (including factors such as limited access to resources, lower wages, etc) and their ideological constructs (such as household authority patterns) in part through an exploration of the social relationships (such as marriage and the birth of children) which constrain or facilitate women's incorporation into the labor force. Studying women's labor force participation in the home as well as in the factory in a single industrial activity delineates factors which constrain women's labor force participation.

In order to avoid a narrow focus on the household and factors affecting the supply of women workers, the structure of the labor market, and preferential hiring practices of the larger factories were incorporated into the methodology through interviews with the factory owners. These interviews explored factors which influence the demand for women workers and further constrain women's incorporation into the labor force. One aspect of demand for women's labor in Colombia is the governmental policy encouraging the development of small-scale enterprises (first implemented in 1984, and revised in 1988). The impact that this policy has on structuring women's labor force incorporation (wage-labor, as well as home-based) will be analyzed using information from these interviews.

This interview schedule for the factory owners was modified in Bogotá and then again in Pereira (see Appendix B). In total 40 owners were

interviewed. It was applied to all owners of small, medium and large sized garment factories in Pereira and Dos Quebradas (the industrializing region to the north of the city; administratively Dos Quebradas is part of the municipal area of Pereira) who agreed to participate in the study. The goal of this interview was to determine the composition of the work force in these factories, outline the chain of subcontracting in the city, and uncover recruitment strategies of the factories.

The sample of factories was chosen through the assistance of two groups. The major contact with the owners of the large factories was ANDI (The National Association of Industrialists) while the contact with small organizations was ACOPI (the Colombian Association of Popular Industries). A representative of each of seven large garment factories in Pereira and Dos Quebradas was interviewed, and representatives of 80% of those factories registered with ACOPI participated in the study. Some factories which participated in the production process through subcontracting, but did not appear in the list of ANDI nor in ACOPI, were discovered. In other words, during the interview with owners of factories from ANDI or ACOPI, factories would be mentioned as those which were subcontracted to or from which material was received, who did not appear in the original lists. The managers of these factories were then approached for interviews.

After the initial interviews with the managers of the seven large factories, two were chosen for more in-depth studies, in order to compare the production process and women's labor force incorporation, between export-oriented factories with mixed capital and those which were oriented towards the domestic market. The largest export factory in the region was chosen because of its predominance in industrial production in the region. The other factory chosen for the study was one which did not export, but rather produced

for the domestic market. The owners of these factories collaborated in suggesting the names of workers for the interviews. (Although it is possible that this collaboration introduced some bias into the sample, it was impossible to interview the workers without the permission of the managers. However, where possible, the social network method was used to uncover friends of these workers, and individuals who had been fired from the factory were sought out for additional information on working conditions in the factories.)

The sample of domestic outworkers was chosen by asking the larger factories to indicate who produced for them (small-scale enterprises, or home-based workers). When the factories did not submit workers' names, a social network of the home-based workers known by workers in other factories was utilized. This method involved asking the workers if they knew other women who worked sewing in their homes. In this way, twenty subcontracted industrial outworkers were found. Also, the SENA (National Vocational Training School) assisted in the location of home-based workers and small-scale garment entrepreneurs. The SENA conducts courses in sewing skills geared to particular factories, as well as providing courses in how to start up a small enterprise in garments, including courses in design, cutting, and marketing. This governmental institution also serves as a placement agency for these workers and small-scale enterprises. The woman responsible for organizing the classes for small-scale enterprises allowed me to accompany her on her home visits. I was also permitted to attend classes in SENA and interview participants outside of class hours. I actually took garment classes for a week (to learn the basic stitches and procedures taught in the introductory courses). I attempted to work in a factory, but this was impossible for insurance reasons (according to the personnel managers). Apparently because of the

pressure on the workers, there was a high incidence of work-related injuries in this factory.

Three women, graduates of the local university in social sciences, were contracted to assist in the interviews after finishing with the trial interviews. These assistants were helpful in finding women who worked in the garment industry in Pereira and Dos Quebradas. They completed two 3-hr sessions of training to ensure their understanding of the interview technique. The interviews with the workers in general, lasted from 1 to 1.5 hours. The assistants were initially paid \$2.00 an interview; however one interviewer who was exceptionally good and assisted in more depth with other aspects of the analysis was later re-hired at the rate of \$3.00 an hour. The assistants completed 50 interviews with the workers in the two larger factories. I completed the trial interviews with the workers (about 15), some interviews with factory workers (20), interviews with the owners of the factories (41) and the domestic outworkers (35). The final sample consisted of 40 workers of one export factory, 35 operators of one factory producing for the domestic market and 35 domestic outworkers.

Other quantified information, including data from the manufacturing census, and the household census of 1977, 1980 and 1987 was utilized in determining the social structure of the region. Initially this data was used to determine the site of study (i.e. an area where the production of garments was predominant). Later, this information was used to complement the analysis of labor force participation in the areas of Pereira and Dos Quebradas.

Qualitative Data

Primary sources of qualitative information included interviews with garment workers and key informants such as local leaders of credit unions, women's organizations, civic societies, labor organizations, and professors in the university. Follow-up unstructured interviews with 3 women workers provided more in-depth information on women's insertion into the labor force, exploring their work and family history in more depth than the initial survey interviews. Newspaper articles of the two major local papers (El Diario del Otun, and La Tarde) were consulted from their initiation in the 1940s till 1989. For this process, two assistants from the National University in Bogotá were hired to help review the papers (only from 1980's on) and collect articles on garment production and industrialization in the area of Pereira and Dos Quebradas.

Secondary sources for qualitative information include books on regional development of the 'Old Caldas' region, several student theses from the Technological University in Pereira, and data from the National Planning Office.

Perhaps the most difficult part of the research was gathering information through interviews. In Colombia, individuals do not grant interviews if they have nothing to gain. The identity of the person who makes the interview contact for the researcher was very important. I was fortunate to have been introduced to the director of the ANDI (Asociacion Nacional de Industrias) in Pereira. She later provided me with a letter of introduction for the large factory owners in the region. An introduction by a University of Florida

alumnus provided me with contacts to ACOPI (Asociación Colombiana de Populares Industrias) for medium and small factories. This organization further assisted me in Pereira, providing me with a telephone and office space.

In establishing relationships with homeworkers, building trust was the key to successful interviews. Because the interviews intruded into the settings of the women workers and their families, it was important for me to reciprocate their attention towards me with offers of my time, assistance, friendship, or a listening ear for their problems. The initial strategy was to walk in the barrios, spend time getting to know the children, and then ask if their mothers worked in the home. However, even after getting to know the children, the mothers were suspicious of my activities, and few were willing to grant me an interview. It was only after meeting people in a government office which provided training in sewing and garment production for women (SENA) that I was able to make inroads into the production in the home. The SENA had a program for the development of small-scale enterprises, and also a project for assisting women who worked in their homes. SENA personnel allowed me to travel with them on their home visits, and I was able to get to know the women, home-based workers and small-scale entrepreneurs in a more personal way. With the introduction of the SENA worker, the women trusted me more, and we were able to talk about their work in a more favorable environment.

The following chapter considers the theoretical significance of women's labor force incorporation. Women's labor force participation is considered as part of a strategy of industrial capital to incorporate more vulnerable labor, through restructuring and fragmentation of the production process.

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN'S WORK IN HOME AND FACTORY: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

Conoci a mi esposo en Top 10, Yo
trabaje como fileteadora, y el
cortaba la tela. .

Lucia, operaria de confeccion

I met my husband in the
garment factory Top 10, I was
working as a fileteadora
(finishing edges), and he
worked cutting the cloth.

Lucia, factory worker

This chapter begins with an analysis of the impact of industrialization on the sexual division of labor (both in the household and in the workplace). Essential to this analysis is a discussion of women's labor, considering productive and reproductive responsibilities which occur in both the workplace and the home. Because women's labor force participation is conditioned by their household responsibilities, women cannot be considered only as workers, but must also be considered as daughters, wives, sisters, aunts or mothers. Domestic responsibilities often limit women's possibilities for employment in the 'formal sector', concentrating them in the unregulated or 'informal' sector of the economy (Redclift and Mingione 1985). Women's labor force participation is considered as part of a strategy of industrial

capitalists to incorporate more vulnerable labor, through restructuring and fragmentation of the production process.

The discussion follows with an analysis of informal sector expansion¹. The new international division of labor is considered as a mechanism leading to increasing fragmentation of the production process, augmenting 'informal sector' production. Home-based workers (considered part of the 'informal sector' in this research) are 'cheaper' than factory workers; not only are their salaries lower, but they require little or no investment in infrastructure or social benefits. In order to understand the mechanisms which create, modify and reproduce this 'informalization' a comparison of industrial outwork occurring during the transition to capitalism in eighteenth century Europe is made with that of capitalist development in contemporary Latin America. The introduction of large scale factory production and its impact on social relations in the household are considered. The conclusion discusses the significance of the expansion of the informal sector and increasing

¹Many scholars criticize the term informal sector. While its value as a descriptive measure is often conceded, its usefulness as an analytical category is fiercely debated. Researchers argue that the informality observed in the economy is actually a very functional part of the formal sector. However, according to scholars such as Portes and Sassen-Koob, the profound economic crisis of the industrialized capitalist countries (since the mid 1970's) led to the development of new mechanisms to adjust for the lack of demand for products, and avoid substantial reductions in industrial profits. These strategies assumed by capitalists include transferring plants to countries where costs would be reduced, robotization of the factory (industrial conversion), experiments to increase workers productivity, and *informalization* (Portes 1983). In this case, informalization is a strategy utilized by capitalists to assure their flexibility and adaptation and minimize their costs. In this research, the term informal sector must be understood as a dynamic concept, as part of the global process of restructuring production, facilitating the competition of national and multi-national factories in the international market.

fragmentation of the labor force for women's labor force incorporation and the reproduction of the working class household.

The Household as Mediator of Women's Labor Force Incorporation

An analysis of women's labor force incorporation (be it in the factory or industrial subcontracting) must include social relations of production as well as social relations of reproduction (both of the domestic unit and the workplace). Social relations of production in this study refer to the economic ownership of productive forces (land, labor, and capital in strict marxist terms). In other words, while the factory worker only owns her/his labor power, the industrialist owns the machinery and the raw material required for production. These conditions may differ in the case of small scale producers, as will be seen in the discussion of subcontracting in chapter four. Social relations of reproduction in this research emphasize two levels of reproduction: the daily (and the generational) and the biological. The daily level of reproduction includes cooking, child care, washing, cleaning, and maintaining the household which over time leads to the reproduction of a generation of workers (Harris and Young 1981). Women's reproductive labor (involving activities such as giving birth to children, cooking, cleaning, and childcare) influence women's incorporation into the wage labor force. Both productive and reproductive functions of the household change over time (as children grow, enter school, leave school and enter the work force). An analysis of the household and its internal dynamics is essential for understanding the influence of the domestic environment on women's labor force participation. For this reason, when analyzing women's labor force

incorporation, this research considers both women's factory based productive activities, as well as her household responsibilities.

Lamphere (1987) demonstrates the interrelationship between the two spheres in the following quote:

Production entails reproduction, and there are elements of both productive labor and reproductive labor in the factory and in the household. When women are tending spinning frames or looms, they are producing a product (cloth) but their labor is set in a system of social relations in which they sell their labor for a wage and work for someone who owns the machinery and the factory they work in. . . . Yet there are also elements of reproduction in the factory or textile mill. The means of production must be reproduced or replaced, that is, the machinery needs to be repaired, the buildings refurbished...the social relations of production, the divisions between owners, managers, and workers, need to be reproduced through the continuous replacement of individuals in these categories and through the socialization of workers and managers to their jobs, including an acceptance of the system as legitimate (Lamphere 1987 p. 18)

However, the terms production and reproduction must not be used as synonyms for household and workplace. They are rather analytic concepts which describe relationships and changes which occur in either place.

There are ways in which "production:" finds its way into the home, even though most productive work does not take place there under either industrial or monopoly capitalism. First, the organization and scheduling of work impinge on and determine the family's schedule for eating, sleeping, and leisure time. Second, the wages paid to adult male workers determine whether other members of the family will work for wages in order to provide subsistence for the household. . . .Third...their participation in the labor force may necessitate the reallocation of reproductive labor within the home.(Lamphere 1987, 18).

As Lamphere demonstrates, the relationship between productive and reproductive tasks is complex and dynamic. Household activities involved in the daily reproduction of the labor force generally occur alongside activities

oriented towards market production. Since reproductive tasks of the household are considered women's responsibilities, women's labor force participation is more dramatically affected by reproductive responsibilities than men's. Domestic labor which has traditionally been the women's responsibility constrains women's participation in market oriented production. Therefore women's responsibilities for reproductive activities determine in large part her possible productive activities. These tasks inhibit or constrain women, especially middle aged married women, from selling their labor in the market. Because the labor of these women is consumed within the household, these workers have more difficulty working outside of the home.

Family or Household

Before proceeding with an analysis of changes occurring in the household during capitalist development, the concepts "family" and "household" must be clearly defined. The term "household" refers to a co-resident group of persons who share most aspects of consumption, drawing on and allocating a common pool of resources (including labor) to ensure their material reproduction (Margulis 1980, Schmink 1984, Yanagisako 1979, Jelin 1977, Harris 1981). Households are not necessarily based on kin relationships, though a family and a household may in some cases be equivalent. "Family" then refers to an institution based on kin relationships governed by established socio-cultural practices. These individuals do not necessarily share a common residence or commonly pool their resources.

Historical works document variations in household and family composition through time (Aries 1973; Arizpe 1977; Stolcke 1981). The structure and composition of households also varies with the life-stages and socio-economic income generating strategies of its members. The impact of life cycle (elaborated in more detail in chapter six) on women's production and reproductive responsibilities illustrates that life cycle is a major factor in labor recruitment policies and strongly affects who is hired for particular jobs. For example, as this research will demonstrate, daughters are preferred by the multi-national factories. They are more flexible in their work hours (i.e. more available for unscheduled overtime), and less likely to miss work because of family problems. In addition, life cycle affects the way in which women regard their earnings and the contributions they make toward the household economy (Safa 1990). This case will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven.

The impact of industrialization on families and households can be seen in changing household strategies for income generation. The household organizes labor for productive as well as reproductive tasks. For example, as the ratio of workers to consumers changes over time, the income generating activities of the women also change. It is hypothesized that ideological and time constraints assigning domestic responsibilities to women, pull them back into the home when other household members (especially children) assume their income generating activities. As a result, both the composition and the structure of households have a direct impact on women's lives, on their labor for both market oriented and industrial outworking activities, and in particular on their ability to gain access to resources, to labor and to income.

However, the household cannot be conceived of as existing in isolation, but rather is embedded in a specific socio-economic class in a community within a certain geographical region. All these factors affect women's access to and control of resources. Extra-household kin relationships are also important in regulating women's access to and control of resources. In the case of garment workers in Risaralda, kinship networks are important in obtaining work and machinery for women to perform work in the home (to be discussed in relation to the garment workers in more detail in chapter five).

Female-headed Households

The concept of the female-headed household is growing in importance. According to the household headship reported by the women workers, approximately 30% (35/110), were female headed. However, when women's position within the household was analyzed, over 50 percent of the workers interviewed classified as female household heads, considering the major economic provider as household head (the difference between reported household headship and headship considering economic contribution to the budget will be further analyzed in chapter 6). In the case of Risaralda, Colombia, it appears that rapid industrialization based largely on women's labor force participation has led to a high degree of female-headed households in the urban areas.

International data reviewed on the socioeconomics of women heads of household suggest a direct linkage between processes of modernization -- particularly those stemming from economic development and its policies -- and the rise of households headed by women. . . Most studies suggest that explanatory

factors for female family headship should be sought in both internal and international migration; mechanization of agriculture; the development of agribusiness; *urbanization*; overpopulation; lower class marginality, and *the emergence of a class system of wage labor* -- all of which are integral parts/consequences of rapid economic transformation. (Buvinic and Youseff 1978 p.iii, italics mine.)

Female household heads may be women who are widowed, separated, abandoned, divorced, or single mothers. In Colombia many women were separated from a legal marriage, but few were divorced². Low wages and high male unemployment contribute to preferences for non-legalized unions as opposed to marriage and to precipitating the break-up of such unions (Buvinic and Youseff 1978). Often female heads of households are part of consensual unions which have dissolved. This research frequently found that women considered themselves "single" after ending a consensual union which had resulted in children. However, to understand the impact that the demand for workers has on women's labor force incorporation, we must now consider how industry pressures households to develop new survival strategies and to devise new patterns of labor allocation.

Women's Labor Force Incorporation

Industrialization has changed the structure of Latin American societies. As women become increasingly incorporated into the labor force, the structure and composition of households is transformed. In Colombia, women provide labor for the development of both national and international industries. Keremitsis (1984) documents how women's labor fueled the development of the textile industry in Mexico and Colombia. As machinery

²Because of Colombia's close tie to the Catholic Church <Colombia is the only country in Latin America which still has a signed convenio with the Vatican in Rome>, divorce is difficult.

modernized jobs in the textile mills, women laborers were channeled into other directions such as the "informal" labor market (Keremitsis 1984). Since the first textile industries began in the Antioqueño region of Colombia in the early part of this century women's labor has spurred the process of capitalist development.

Women have always constituted a source of cheap labor for industrial capitalism (Saffioti 1978), however, the way in which women are incorporated into the labor force is not homogeneous. Their incorporation into the labor force differs according to a number of variables including their ethnicity, class and the stage of national development of the country (Safa 1977). The characteristics of women workers also differ regionally within the same country. In Pereira, Risaralda, as will be demonstrated in chapter three, the significance of the garment industry in regional development leads to a labor market structure in which female participation in manufacturing industry is higher than it may be in other regions of the country³.

One of the first scholars to provide a comparative analysis of women's work based on data from a wide range of societies, Ester Boserup, emphasizes gender as a significant factor in the division of labor. Boserup (1970) analyzes factors affecting the sexual division of labor in agriculture. Her comparison of male and female systems of farming corresponds to the African system of shifting agriculture and the Asian system of plow cultivation. She was one of the first theoreticians to emphasize that women's subsistence activities are

³in 1985 of 26,031 individuals employed in the manufacturing industry in Risaralda, 30 percent were employed in garment production. Of 11,453 women who worked in the manufacturing industry in the region, 4,394 were women associated with garment production (approximately 40 percent). Sixty six percent of the total work force in garments are women. Of 14,578 men who worked in the manufacturing industry, only 16 percent worked in garment production, the majority as mechanics and supervisors.

usually omitted in statistics of production and income (1970:163). In addition, Boserup's comparative analysis projected the different sexual division of labor encountered in farming systems onto patterns of women's participation in non-agricultural activities. Boserup's work has been criticized, however, for neglecting the concept of reproduction (Beneria and Sen 1981). Although Boserup discusses technological changes introduced with commercial agriculture, her modernization perspective leads to the conclusion that this change is generally beneficial to society, if not to women. The assumption that modernization is generally a neutral process, ignores the fact that it generates and intensifies inequalities, making use of existing gender and class hierarchies to subordinate women and men (both within the household and within the workplace). Boserup's analysis focuses solely on women's productive role, neglecting the effect of reproduction on the sexual division of labor.

In order to understand the theoretical importance of women's labor force incorporation, the historical moments when this labor force participation increase, and/or changes its form, must be considered. Women's incorporation into the industrial labor force generally occurred during early periods of industrialization (as in Europe, with England being the classical case); during times of economic and/or political crisis (as in the United States during the Second World War); in situations where extreme competition forces industry to minimize operation costs, and/or restructuring of the labor process (such as the increase in clerical workers in the United States in the 1970s, and more recently the restructuring of manufacturing), and when production remains labor intensive (as in the case of the garment industry). The next section considers women's labor force

incorporation and the development of industrial capitalism as it occurred in eighteenth century England.

Women's Labor Force Incorporation and the Development of Industrial Capitalism

Prior to the onset of industrialization, manufacturing and agriculture were performed on a much smaller scale in the home in feudalistic Europe. The home was the physical location of the reproduction of daily life, as well as production for the market. Under these conditions, a division of labor developed within the home or workshop. In the textile industry, for example, women spun thread, while men frequently wove cloth.

As industrialization developed, productive activities were broken down into a series of tasks. The different functions were arranged hierarchically depending on factors such as knowledge of the process, strength, and manual abilities. As production became increasingly technified and modernized, machines began to perform the labor of workers, and production moved out of the home. Under industrial capitalism, initially the location of production shifted from the household to the factory. The factory replaced the household as the center of productive activity because it was better suited to the technified production of larger machinery. Under this arrangement, a new division of labor emerged in which the worker became merely an appendage of the machinery.

Along with the tool, the skill of the workman (sic) in handling it passes over to the machine . . . Thereby the technical foundation on which is based the division of labor in manufacture is swept away. Hence, in the place of the hierarchy of specialized workmen (sic) that characterizes manufacture, there steps, in the automatic factory, a tendency to equalize and reduce to one and the same level every kind of work that has to

be done by the minders of the machines; in the place of the artificially produced differentiations of the detail workmen, step natural differences of age and sex.(Marx 1967, p. 420).

Initially industrialization tended to substitute unskilled labor for skilled, female labor for male, young labor for mature (Marx 1967).

In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing laborers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whole limbs are all the more supple. The labor of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalist who used machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and laborers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-laborers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the workman's family, without distinction of age or sex (p.394).

Early theoreticians of women's work generally viewed this labor force incorporation as liberating (Marx 1967; Engels 1972):

Since large-scale industry has transferred the woman from the house to the labor market and the factory and makes her, often enough, the bread-winner of the family, the last remnants of male domination in the proletarian home have lost all foundation (Engels 1968, p. 508).

Vogel criticized the notion of separation of reproduction from other productive relations, arguing that although Engels conceptualized the family as a significant analytical category, he failed to specify how the family functioned within the overall process of social reproduction. Vogel (1983) also critiqued this interpretation of women's labor force incorporation as liberating. On the one hand, women's labor force incorporation provides an income for these women which may permit them to exercise more power in the household (as is explored later in this text). However, the reproductive

responsibilities of women in the household (the biological, daily, and generational) continue, especially for women who are mothers and wives. Therefore, she argued, labor force incorporation is not "liberating" for women.

With the development of the factory system, women whose primary responsibility was the household, became dependent on the husband for their income. The household was no longer the unit of production, rather individuals within the household (particularly men) became responsible for the income of the entire household. Both push and pull factors affected women's income generating activities. When factories needed "cheaper" workers, women were pulled into factory employment, often in positions subordinate to men. The significance of the male's primary role as breadwinner, subordinated the role of women workers (and their salaries) legitimizing management's perception of the women workers as "cheaper". In the lower income brackets, the depressed income of male wage earners necessitates the employment of women. The low household income pushes women into the labor force in these sectors. However, in all cases, these women in the wage labor force were not only income generators, but often also housewives and mothers. Participation in factory labor did not reduce their household responsibilities.

Women's labor force incorporation under industrial development may therefore be described as contradictory (Lim 1983). Benefits derived from income generated by the women who leave the home to work necessitate increasing the women's work load unless other family members assume the household responsibilities. Industrial development further fragmented the production process into a hierarchy of tasks. This increasing technification often led to the replacement of women for men in the labor force,

disadvantaging women and leading to changes in the social relations of production. These changes will be discussed in the next section.

Changes in the Social Relations of Production

The gradual displacement of cottage production based in the home with industrial development in eighteenth century England, resulted in the incorporation of young, single daughters of farm families into factory work; often these were women who stopped working as soon as they were able to marry (Fernandez-Kelly 1983). Under these conditions, women's lives were divided into a paid productive phase and an unpaid reproductive phase in which their activities were for the most part directed towards the renewal of the labor force as purely housewives and mothers (Safa 1987).

Braverman (1974) demonstrates how, on the one hand, fragmentation in the labor process degrades labor, breaking down and simplifying tasks which permit the use of less skilled labor in one or more parts of the tasks wresting control out of the hands of the worker. On the other hand, this leads to increased production for industrialists, cheapening the cost of labor, and therefore increasing profits, as well as increasing control by management over the labor process.

The centralization of work in the factory permitted industrialists to determine the process of production: what would be produced, the rate at which it would be produced, how many of certain articles would be produced, and when they would be produced. Workers lost control of the article they were producing which not only made them more vulnerable to capital, but also increasingly alienated them from their work.

The success of work organization in the factory in the United States and European industrial contexts resulted in part from changes in the control of the work process: workers' control over the production process in the household was replaced by management's control in the factory. The intensification of task specialization under monopoly capitalism increases management's control over the work process (Baran and Sweezy 1966). In Colombia, this research demonstrate a similiar process. Factory workers perform only one part of the production process - one seam, one pleat, one sleeve, cuff, etc. In addition to fragmenting the production of different articles, the workers were also moved from one workshop to another. In other words, when one workshop completed an order of women's dresses, a worker would be moved to a workshop of men's shirts (if she was *lucky* enough to have her her contract renewed). The fragmentation of production is furthered by the increasing informalization of work in the factory. Workers are hired only for the production of specific garments. .

The assembly line production and the organization of the large-scale enterprises at the turn of the century in Europe was organized specifically to increase control and profits for capital (Baran and Sweezy 1966). Contrary to the idea that specialization increases the skills needed by each worker so that they may be more knowledgeable and in greater control of the production process, in a society based on the purchase and sale of labor power, dividing the craft actually cheapens the cost of labor for producing the individual parts. In this way, subcontracting part of the work further divides the labor (outside the factory setting whereas the assembly line divides it within the factory setting), once again cheapening the labor costs involved in producing the garment.

Monopoly Capital and Women's Labor Force Incorporation

During the latter half of the twentieth century a substantially different structure of industrialization has emerged. Baran and Sweezy (1966) elaborate on this new stage of development called monopoly capitalism. While monopoly capitalism decreases the need for workers in certain sectors of the labor force, it creates demands for workers in new production branches. Under the stage of monopoly capital, big businesses use all available methods - organizational and technological to decrease their risks and losses (Sokoloff 1980). Under monopoly capitalism there is a systematic tendency for surplus to increase dramatically (Baran and Sweezy 1966). By controlling prices among the few major corporations in a field, the large companies maximize their profits more efficiently. Management increases its control over the production process (including decisions regarding production and sale of commodities such as the type, price, quantity and quality of products.) However, control over markets and increased control over production by large corporations are not the only new elements of monopoly capitalism. Monopoly capitalism also leads to new forms of social organization.

With the rise of monopolies, new forms of social organization began to appear. The expanding commodity market of products and services effected a historic break in the relationship between women and industry. It is possible that monopoly capital was more decisive for the lives of most working-class women than the rise of capitalism itself. The need for controlled markets demanded a mobilization of all social resources for potential profit (Blaxandall, Ewen and Gordon 19xx).

According to Edwards, Reich, and Gordon (1980), the development of monopoly capitalism in the United States divided the working class:

The central thrust of the new strategies (to divide and conquer workers) was to break down the increasingly unified worker interests that grew out of both the proletarianization of work and the concentration of workers in urban areas. As exhibited in several aspects of these large firms operations, this effort aimed to divide the labor force into various segments so that the actual experiences of workers would be different and the basis of their common opposition to capitalists would be undermined (p. xiii).

Theoreticians concerned with the impact of monopoly capitalism on women's labor force incorporation argue that the creation of large amounts of surplus value under monopoly capitalism led to the creation of new industries which employed primarily women. Among these new industries was the development of the service sector which led to increasing incorporation of women into the labor force. However, women were not only increasingly employed in the service industries under monopoly capitalism, but also in the industrial sector. In certain aspects of this sector (especially the garment industry), unskilled tasks continued to dominate production, and women's labor force incorporation increased.

While women generally are increasingly incorporated into the labor force during the twentieth century in low waged and unskilled tasks, some women are being pushed out with the development of more capital intensive techniques of production. While monopoly capitalism has pulled women increasingly into the labor force, new levels of technological development organized to maximize profits and the accumulation of surplus have contradictory consequences for women's labor (Sokoloff 1980, p. 91). Some of these contradictory consequences can be seen in more detail in the analysis of

the new international division of labor. The new international division of labor represents yet another phase of monopoly capitals increasing control over the production process. No longer bound by national sovereignty, these entities continue to maximize profit generation by reorganizing the production process on a global level.

The New International Division of Labor

The new international division of labor refers to the restructuring of production on a global scale. Traditionally the international division of labor consisted in the exportation of raw materials by Third World countries to more industrialized countries where they were processed and marketed. These "Third World" countries then bought manufactured goods from the "First World" at a much higher price. The next phase, import substitution industrialization was promoted by the Economic Council on Latin America in the 1960s. Import substitution industrialization encouraged the domestic production of goods formerly imported. As Safa (1990) notes, in many Latin American countries this industrialization was financed by dividends earned from agricultural production or by foreign capital. In the past decade, the policy of import substitution industrialization has been replaced by one of export promotion. This represents a new stage in the international division of labor, and therefore the name, the New International Division of Labor.

. . . Export manufacturing represents a new stage in the international division of labor in which developing countries in Latin America and the Caribbean are becoming exporters of manufacturing goods to advanced industrial countries...Contrary to import substitution, the new trend seems to encourage foreign investment by minimizing the importance of national

boundaries and allowing market mechanisms to operate without constraint. Import substitution required the development of an internal market, which had to be supported through the extension of domestic purchasing power to the middle and working classes. In export manufacturing, however, the market is entirely external. It demands the maximum reduction of production costs, principally wages, in order to compete effectively on the international level (Safa 1990a, p. 2).

The new international division of labor fosters women's employment (because they are "cheaper") by multinational corporations (Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1985). This employment generates contradiction by providing economic opportunities for these women (Lim 1983) while also intensifying and reinforcing their subordinate position in society through the way in which they are incorporated into the labor process (Elson and Pearson 1981, Ward 1990).

From plants in the Third World, multinational subsidiaries export manufactures to their home countries. From their home countries they import capital and technology in exchange. Cheap labor, combined in many cases with government subsidized capital costs, including tax holidays and low interest loans from government banks give these countries a comparative advantage in world trade in labor intensive products.

It is labor intensive industries, then, that tend to relocate manufacturing plants to developing countries, thereby becoming multinational in their operations. This is a rational competitive response to changing international comparative cost advantages (Lim 1983: 72).

An example of women's labor force incorporation in order for industries to minimize operation costs can be seen in the relatively recent expansion of export processing zones, and the development of factories which perform only assembly operations. This offshore manufacturing represents a new strategy of capital investments which is linked to a reorganization of the

international division of labor (Frobel, Heinrichs, Kreye 1979; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983).

Offshore manufacturing enables the transfer of labor intensive aspects of the productive process to peripheral areas, with the incorporation of large numbers of women into direct manufacturing activities in these areas (Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Safa 1982). Historically the first example of this offshore production occurred in Puerto Rico during the 1950's in Operation Bootstrap (Safa 1974). More recent examples of this can be seen in Asian countries (Lim 1983; Mies 1988; Sen 1980), the Mexican-American border (Fernandez-Kelly 1985) and off-shore production characteristic of the Caribbean (Safa 1981). These industries demonstrate a preference for young, single, women who are perceived as cheaper and more docile than men.

The so-called "feminization of the labor force" results, in large part, from an emphasis on labor flexibility in both developing and industrialized economies (Standing 1989). Not only are women being substituted for men, but men's jobs are also being transformed into low wage, unstable employment, typical of traditional women's jobs. Standing (1989) traces this "feminization of labor" to the global economic situation beginning in the late 1970's. The rise in low income countries' participation as manufacturing exporters, increasingly rapid rates of lending, increased technological innovation, and more intense international competition reinforced the supply side ideology focusing on market mechanisms and cost competitiveness as key determinants of economic development. Increased trade liberalization and export promotion policies result from this emphasis. Therefore, in order to increase profits, governments are removing labor market regulations, eroding union strength, and increasing the use of temporary, part time, and subcontracted workers. Colombia is no exception.

These policies further reduce worker's (both men's and women's) possibilities for skilled employment and income securities. The following quote demonstrates this trend:

At the same time, industrial enterprises have been introducing modern technologies that have been associated with changing skill and job structures. The debate over the de-skilling or upgrading effects of modern technology is unresolved, but the evidence seems to support two pertinent trends. The use of craft skills learned via apprentices and prolonged on-the-job learning have declined; such crafts have traditionally been dominated by male "labor aristocracies." Second, there is a trend toward skill polarization, consisting of an elite of technically skilled, high status specialist workers possessing higher level institutional qualifications, coupled with a larger mass of technically semiskilled production and subsidiary workers requiring minor training typically imparted through short term courses of a few weeks or even by on the job learning. (Standing 1989, p.938)

Lim (1983) states that third world women workers are the most heavily exploited group of workers in the world, both relative to their output contribution and relative to other groups. Although all experience capitalist exploitation, third world women workers are additionally subject to what she terms "imperialist exploitation" and "patriarchal exploitation".

Imperialist exploitation - the differential in wages paid to workers in developed and developing countries for the same work and output - arises from the ability of multinationals to take advantage of different labor market conditions in different parts of the world - a perfectly rational practice in the context of world capitalism. In the developing countries, high unemployment, poor bargaining power vis-a-vis the foreign investor, lack of worker organization and representation and even the repression of workers' movements, all combine to depress wage levels, while the lack of industrial experience, ignorance and naivete of workers with respect to the labor practice in modern factory employment enable multinational employers to extract higher output from them in certain unskilled operations.

Patriarchal exploitation-the differential in wages paid to male and female workers for similar work and output-derives from women's inferior position in the labor market . . . (Lim 1983: 80)

In the context of the current international economic and political situation in the late 1980's, Latin American countries (including Colombia) must reorganize their economies in response to increasing international financial problems. Reduced reliance on salaried workers earning fixed wages and fringe benefits enables factories to cut production costs in order to meet international competition. Increased reliance on 'cheaper' sources of labor such as women working at home, and reduction in factory wages increase international competitiveness. As noted above, these economic problems have resulted in a shift from direct to indirect employment. In other words, this restructuring has led to a revival of industrial outwork and subcontracting increasing production in the "informal sector".

The Informal Sector

Scholars of industrialization in Latin America debate the degree to which informal sector production and employment can be isolated and analyzed as separate from that of the formal economy (Portes 1983, Portes, Castells and Benton 1989)⁴ . Although the informal sector was originally equated with the traditional subsistence sector opposed to economic modernization which occurs in the "market" (Geertz 1963), this dualistic

⁴Portes states that a substantial "informal proletariat" provides the urban formal sector with the extra-market means of production. According to his hypothesis, the urban informal proletariat is readily identifiable since it a) does not receive regular money wages; b) does not receive the indirect wage of social security coverage; and c) does not retain contractual relations with its employers.

perspective has been strongly criticized. Scholars who criticize this perspective emphasize the close articulation between formal and informal sectors, the way in which this articulation cheapens labor, and the importance of this unregulated production for social reproduction (in terms of both production of goods for the market and a source of employment) (Safa 1987).

Portes and Benton estimated that in 1984, 40 percent of Colombia's urban labor force was in the informal sector. For intermediate Colombian cities such as Pereira, informal sector participation in production has been estimated to be 61 percent (Lopez 1987). Recent studies on the process of expansion of the informal sector and the restructuring of the labor process demonstrate that the most exploited segments of the paid labor force are female (Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983, Sassen Koob 1984, Fernandez-Kelly 1985, Beneria and Roldan 1987, Safa 1990).

Portes (1983) distinguishes between three types of production within the informal sector: (1) direct subsistence (including subsistence agriculture and home production), (2) petty commodity production and exchange (based on the labor of the self-employed who produce goods and services for the market); and (3) backward capitalist production, which includes small enterprises employing unprotected wage labor. The first two may be considered traditional methods of incorporating labor in the informal sector, while the third is relatively new in Colombia and elsewhere. This research considers subcontracted industrial outwork (which Portes terms backward production) as a mechanism for incorporating women's labor in a more vulnerable (less protected, more unstable or insecure) position.

Subcontracted Industrial Outwork

Subcontracted industrial outwork has recently received renewed interest by researchers, largely as a result of the decentralization of production since the 1970s (Beneria and Roldan 1987).

At the conceptual level, homework involves a mixed organization of production in which capital takes advantage of the prevalent social and economic relations within the household. The jobber, the workshop, or the factory gives the materials to the worker who is paid by the piece wages for the work, but has no control over the product since it is returned to the jobber. There is appropriation of labor on the part of the jobber, much along the lines based on capitalist relations of production (Beneria and Roldan, p.66 1987).

However, in order to understand the implications of subcontracting for social relations of production and women's labor force incorporation, we must distinguish between the putting out system of the early European transition to capitalism, and industrial outwork performed in contemporary Latin America.

Industrial Outwork and Capitalist Development

Although striking similarities exist between the development of the putting out system in Europe and subcontracted industrial outwork in Colombia, significant differences also exist. Women's labor force incorporation under capitalist development in Colombia is more subordinate to both national and multinational capital than it was in Europe. Women, in Colombia, maintain less control of the production process, and less frequently own the means of production.

In order to better understand the way in which macro-economic processes influence women's labor force incorporation and the household, it is important to study these differences between the European case and the Colombian case. In general, during the transition to capitalism in Europe, the putting out system was controlled by commercial capital, while in Colombia today it is controlled by industrial capital. In the garment industry, even when production is performed in the home, the large factories maintain control of cutting and finishing the product.

In addition, the accumulation process initiated by commercial capital in Europe facilitated the development of national industrial capital (Beneria and Roldan 1987). However, in Colombia, this production contributes to the accumulation of both national and multinational capital. Though subcontracting into the home was less frequent among the factories with multinational capital, other forms of contracting works to small workshops outside the factory did persist (these will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four). Thus small scale entrepreneurs' production contributes to the generation of surplus profits by the large multinational factories.

Further, the ownership of the means of production was different in the two cases. At least initially, the putting out system in Europe utilized independent producers who owned the means of production (such as sewing machines and looms). In Colombia, the machines, as well as the locale where production takes place (if it does not occur in the workers home) are often owned by the larger factory. In Colombia, the entrepreneur (manager of a small scale enterprise) may have the rent for the machines or locale taken out of her meager earnings for this subcontracted production.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the impact of capitalist development on women's labor force incorporation. Women's labor force incorporation in eighteenth century Europe was compared to present day Colombia, emphasizing the change in location of production as it affects women's productive and reproductive responsibilities. The reorganization of social relations within the home as a result of the transition from craft production to factory production highlighted womens' increasing marginalization within the production process. The increasing penetration of international capitalism in Third World Countries has led to a deskilling of the work force under contemporary monopoly capitalism conditions. The increasing feminization of the labor force illustrates the search for increasingly more vulnerable labor by industrial capitalists.

This discussion demonstrates that industries (even those which traditionally utilized female labor) such as the garment industry are restructuring production to reduce labor costs and to incorporate workers in a cheaper, more vulnerable position, with less job security and fewer benefits. Both subcontracted industrial outworkers and factory workers are relegated to "informal" types of production. The factory workers work becomes "informal" when these workers are contracted as temporary workers, for less than 90 days, prohibiting them from receiving the benefits of legal contractual workers. This incorporation occurs at a time when male unemployment is increasing, wages are low, and women's contribution to the household income is highly significant.

Women's labor force incorporation in the new international division of labor, is becoming increasingly subordinate to the interests of national and multinational capital. However, this incorporation does not occur in a vacuum. Women's labor force incorporation is mediated by their household responsibilities. The household adapts to the changing forms of women's labor force incorporation by assuming new strategies for household sustenance. As households (both male and female-headed) jockey for their survival, and for a more advantageous position in the work force, they reorganize and reallocate their labor. This reallocation of labor is in part the result of households' responses to the structure of the labor market (this is discussed in depth in chapter 6) and to the current economic crisis.

In order to understand the mechanisms governing this incorporation of female labor in increasingly subordinate positions, it is necessary to link the household, and the family with the wider regional, national and international patterns of development, including social, economic, political and ideological processes, within which they are embedded. The next chapter discusses the process of industrialization in Colombia emphasizing the increase in temporary labor contracts, and the growth of the informal sector along with women's increasing labor force participation.

CHAPTER THREE INDUSTRIALIZATION IN COLOMBIA

Introduction

...Se utilizan solo la mano de obra de la region, y dentro del Plan Vallejo se trabaja para enviar ...De los EEUU mandan todo la material los patrones y aqui se trabaja . . . se ponen la mano de obra al estilo Taiwan. Pereira es el epicentro del Plan Vallejo al nivel de la confeccion en este sentido.

Dona Blanca, Tecnologa del SENA

They utilize only the labor of the region, under the Plan Vallejo they work to export... From the United States they send all of the material, the patterns, and here they assemble it, using the style they use in Taiwan. Pereira is the epicenter of the Plan Vallejo in the garment industry in this sense.

Doña Blanca, Technologist from the SENA.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the origins of the manufacturing industry in Colombia emphasizing the relationship between state policy and industrialization in Colombian economic development. A description of the structure of the labor force in Colombia discusses the historical importance of women's labor force

incorporation. Next, a brief review of the Antioqueño colonization of the Old Caldas region (which today is Risaralda, Caldas and Quindio) provides the background for a discussion of the capitalist development of the Risaralda region (see Figure 3.1, 3.2). Finally, an exploration of the contemporary structure of the manufacturing industry in the department of Risaralda focuses specifically on the role of the garment industry in the process of industrialization of Pereira and Dos Quebradas (see Figure 3.3).

In order to understand the origins of the manufacturing industry in Colombia, we must first consider the extraction of primary products which provided the initial capital for industrialization. From the mid-nineteenth century, the export sector has been considered the principal source of capital accumulation for the country. According to Jose Antonio Ocampo, a prominent Colombian economist: "The export experience of the nineteenth century was, in the long run, discouraging and in terms of specific markets, very unstable (1979: 25)". Ocampo delineates three elements which explain the limits to expansion of exports in the Colombian case: (1) the position of Colombia in the world economy, which tended to generate strong competitive disadvantages for the Colombian producers, (2) the presence of backward forms of production and (3) the tendency of Colombian capitalists to behave as "speculators". (1979: 26). During the last century, investment by Colombians was concentrated in commercial and speculative activities or in buying certain goods (such as land or cattle) which could be rapidly liquidated, serving as a type of money. Investment in productive activities was only attractive when world prices for the products were high. Consequently, Ocampo states, the expansion of the export sector



Figure 3.1 Map of South America, Colombia highlighted.



Figure 3.2 Colombia South America by departments

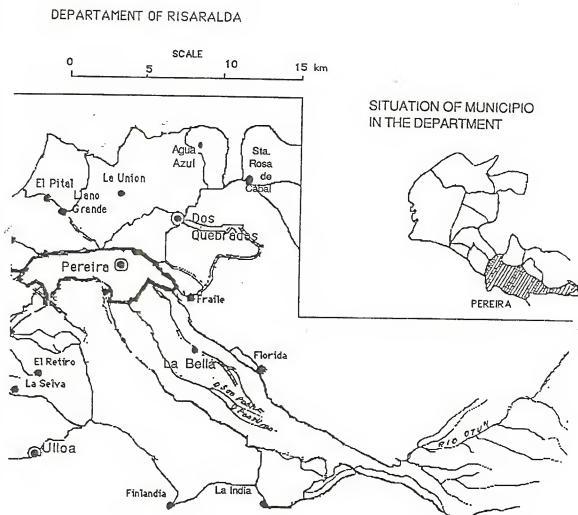


Figure 3.3 Municipality of Pereira, including Dos Quebradas.

only occurred when almost any type of production was acceptable in the world market. For this reason, the producer - exporters, did not have much incentive to maintain a high level of investment of fixed capital in industrial development. Their role was more that of speculators.

Gold was the major export product until the mid nineteenth century. During the second half of the nineteenth century, coffee assumed increasing importance as a product for exportation. According to Alvaro Lopez Toro (1975) gold production for export in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries generated disequilibrium between Antioquia's dynamic mining economy and its stagnant traditional agriculture. A powerful merchant class emerged to balance this disequilibrium through trade. Lopez argues that merchants supplied the export sector with food, tools, and clothing, and collected gold for export. Capital accumulation in the hands of merchants enabled them to displace the cultural, social, and political influence of the class of large landowners engaged in traditional agriculture in the highlands around the region's capital, Medellin.

Charles Bergquist (1986) demonstrates how the boom and bust of export agriculture structured the political history of the nation during the nineteenth century. During the first three decades of this century, despite considerable growth of gold, banana, and petroleum exports (after 1925), coffee exports rose from 40 to more than 70 percent of the value of Colombia's total exports. The remarkable expansion of the coffee export economy enabled the Colombian government to become a major recipient of the flood of finance capital emanating from New York banks in the years preceding the Great Depression (Bergquist 1986: 297).

From an early stage, rural coffee producers depended on industrially based textile production for their own use. This explains, in part, why coffee producing regions often become centers of textile and garment production.

Small coffee farmers never engaged in home textile production as rural families in other sectors of the Colombian economy traditionally did. Unlike the small tobacco farmers in Santander during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who produced textiles in their homes for distribution in other regions, and the wool spinners and weavers of highland Boyaca and Cundinamarca, coffee farmers depended from the beginning on industrially manufactured (and initially imported) cotton cloth for most of their clothing needs. Women and female children did, however fashion much of their own clothing by hand until the use of imported treadle sewing machines became widespread in recent decades. Males customarily had their cotton pants made by tailors in the towns, a practice that continues to this day. . . Small children, especially among the most impoverished coffee families, often still wear little or no clothing. (Bergquist 1986: 322)

Development of the Manufacturing Industry in Colombia

Until the end of the 1880's, industry in Colombia was basically artisanal, concentrated in the production of clothes, chocolates, candles, and beer located mainly in Bogota. It was only during the first years of the twentieth century that industrialization of consumption goods, focused in Medellin and Bogota, was begun on a large scale.

The textile industry in Medellin was a major leader in industrial development in the Antioqueño region (of which Medellin is the capital). Capital accumulated in coffee exports funded the dynamic expansion of this sector in the Antioqueño region. From 1910 till 1930 coffee exports increased at a rate superior to 10 percent yearly. Textile industrialization flourished in Medellin after 1907 under protectionist

measures first introduced by the Reyes government. Further, capital accumulated through coffee production in this region expanded and consolidated the internal market for textiles, assisted in the formation of large enterprises in the industrial sector, and through these activities strengthened the creation of a salaried workforce in the cities (Montenegro and Ocampo 1985). Coltejer and Fabricato, two of the largest textile factories in the country were developed through efforts of the largest family of coffee merchants (Echavarria).

Colombian industrialization was assisted by economic and fiscal reforms of the administration of Pedro Nel Ospina (1922-27). The reorganization of public finances made possible a greater access to external credit, while the creation of a central bank provided the base for the formation of a monetary system and modern capital market. The immediate effects of these reforms were to reduce the interest rates and provide a more secure access to sources of financing for new investments. The increase in the physical infrastructure put forth by the same administration further stimulated more investment in industry (Jimenez and Sideri 1985).

Colombia was, relatively speaking for Latin America, a late-comer to industrialization. However, the industrial growth in Colombia between 1931 and 1939 was, on the average 12.4 percent, not only the highest in Latin America in that decade, but also the highest in the industrial history of Colombia. The process of Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) began during the later years of the Liberal governments (1940-44), reaching its peak in the late 40's and early 50's when Antioqueño industrialists wielded great influence in the Conservative Administration. Nevertheless, this rate of growth was

reduced to 5.4 percent between 1939 and 1945, only to recuperate to 10.2 percent in the 1950's. While industries such as threads, textiles and cigarettes were concentrated in Antioquia, cement and beer were centralized in the province of Cundinamarca, and the processing of sugar was centralized in Cali.

With the initiation of industrialization, workers organizations also began to flourish. In 1931 worker's organizations were legitimized by the government. In 1936 the creation of the CTC (Confederacion de Trabajadores Colombianos) promoted advances in the area of social security legislation such as law 53 of 1938 which allowed for sick leave and maternity leave for workers. The Union of Colombian Workers (UTC) was founded in 1946 with assistance from the Catholic church.

In the years 1945-1950, significant changes in the structure of production occurred. The processing of foodstuffs (Galletas la Rosa, Cicolac, Fruco) and production of artificial fibers (Pantex, Tejicondor) began the diversification of consumer goods. Further, the expansion of intermediate goods, mainly in the industries of leather, chemicals, paper, and metal products increased dramatically. Growing consumer demands made investments in this sector more profitable (Jimenez and Sideri 1985).

The acceleration of import substitution industrialization (ISI) after the Second World War supported by state intervention fostered the development of large national textile factories that met most of the demands of the internal market. Policies established during this period encouraged national production of manufactured goods and reduced the need for imports (i.e., ISI). Between 1950 and 1958, an increase in the production of intermediate goods was accompanied by a decrease in the

expansion of consumer goods. The most dynamic industrial activities were those of wood, paper, leather, chemicals, petroleum derivatives, basic metals and non-electric machinery. Although, in general, intermediate goods provided the motor for industrial development in the 1950s, the situation varied in each region, depending on the structure of production in the region; on the integration of factory activity in this structure; on modifications given by the installation of new enterprises; and on the expansion of markets. In other regions, such as Antioquia and Old Caldas, industrial development continued to focus on consumer goods (79 percent to 90 percent respectively), although the participation of these in the total production of other manufacturing regions was decreasing (Jimenez and Sideri 1985).

Women's Contribution to Industrial Development

In the 1945 industrial census of Colombia, there were 135,000 workers registered in the industrial sector, of those 90,111 were men and 45,289 women (approximately 33 percent female). Approximately one third (34.5 percent) of these workers were distributed among 6 occupations: thread spinners, 3.7 percent, garment workers, 7.6 percent, folders, 2.5 percent, packers, 5.6 percent, weavers, 8.5 percent and yarn knitters, 6 percent. The occupations most often associated with female employment were those which were extensions of the women's domestic role, such as textiles, garments, food, and tobacco. This early census demonstrates that women's employment was not only limited to specific industries, but also to specific occupational categories within these industrial categories. Women were much more frequently

relegated to the category "obrero" (worker) as opposed to the category of "empleada" (salaried wage worker). The payment for work completed by empleadas was greater than that paid to "obreros" because the work of empleadas supposedly required a higher level of formal education, and therefore more 'technical expertise' (Sandroni 1982).

The situation of women in these early years of industrialization in Bogota, bears some resemblance to the daily lives of the garment workers today, in Pereira. In a thesis at the Universidad Nacional, Gabriela Pelaez Echeverry (1944) notes:

The women who work in the factories in this study are single and without children because of the personnel selection process of the factory. . . This is not found in the 'trilladoras' of coffee, who represent the other extreme. It is difficult to find among them, a woman who is single without children. . . In these 'trilladoras' one finds married women, single, women of all the marital states, with children of various ages. Mothers carried their children to work at their side. . . (p. 72, cited in Sandroni 1982, my translation).

She further notes that:

Of the women who worked only 1 percent, do so to dedicate part of their salary to personal expenses. Even those women who are alone, orphaned or widowed, need their work in order to live. . . There are fewer cases in which the women must work because of death or abandonment by the husband (p.72, cited in Sandroni 1982, my translation).

The similarities between women's proletarianization in the 1940s and proletarianization in the 1980s demonstrate the continuous search by capital for a cheap, vulnerable labor force.¹

¹Statistics for Colombia show that the population of economically active women increased between 1951 and 1978 from 18.7 percent to 28.8 percent (Flores, Echeverri and Mendez 1987). However, the rate of female labor force participation in 1951 (18.7 percent) was close to five times less than the

From Import Substitution to the Promotion of Exports

Colombia's first two National Front governments (1958-1962; 1962-1966) faced economic problems stemming from the low world price for coffee and the shortage of foreign capital with which to import consumer goods. Towards the end of the 1960s, under the government of Lleras Restrepo, the industrial policy of ISI was reconsidered, and a shift towards export promotion began. During this time, the government assumed a protectionist policy towards the internal market and supported exports through exchange (fiscal) policies and the creation of tax incentives. Worker benefits established during the 1960's include: Cajas de Compensacion Familiar (family compensation) in 1962 and legislation regulating benefits for old age, death and disability in 1967.

The Instituto de Fomento Industrial (IFI), created in 1941, received increasing financial support during this period. The IFI was originally created to assist entrepreneurs wishing to purchase new technology. Total credits extended by the IFI rose from \$35 million in 1958 to \$2,157

masculine rate (89.3 percent). In 1978, the increase in female activity had reduced the difference with a rate of 29 percent for women and 71 percent for men. This increase in women's labor force participation results in part from the increasing urbanization of the population in the last few decades. In 1984 there was a greater percentage of women than men in urban areas (53 percent versus 47 percent) while the reverse is true of rural areas (48 percent versus 52 percent (Flores, Echeverri and Mendez 1987)). This may be due, in large part, to the employment available in cities for women, mainly domestic servants.

Marital status also affects the female labor supply in a market with preferences for single women. The highest rate of women's economic activity is in the group of separated women. This group increased its participation from 4.1 percent (1976) to 8.5 percent (1984) which explains in part, the increase in female labor force participation (Maldonado and Lozano 1987). These figures, however, only reflect female labor force participation in what has been termed the 'formal sector'.

million in 1969, and \$4,935 million in 1972. In 1959, Decree 1345 provided increased tariff protection for industrial capital goods and intermediate manufactured goods produced in Colombia. The protections applied to the manufacture of paper, iron, glass, electrical equipment, fertilizers, synthetic fibers and other high technology products. These protectionist policies encouraged the national production of textiles from cotton as well as synthetic fibers.

Another policy effecting technological change in Colombian manufacturing was Law 81 of 1960 which gave industrial tax exemptions and write-offs of up to 10 years for investments in a wide variety of heavy and high technology industries, as well as providing tax incentives for exports of these products. This policy was intended to expand import substitution beyond consumer durables to include "intermediate" industrial products which served as inputs to the manufacture of consumer goods. Thus these policies were designed to protect national industry, reduce imports, and promote exports in an attempt to improve Colombia's balance of payments and decrease the need to borrow foreign capital. These programs encouraged production in larger factories, although the degree to which these factories relied on smaller enterprises and outwork is not known.

Few programs were established to provide credit to smaller, more labor intensive industries. Some funds from the IFI, especially those from the Inter-American Development Bank brought in after 1969, were specified for small and intermediate-sized manufacturing plants. Another initiative was the establishment in 1967 of the Corporacion Financiera Popular (CFP) which provides credit to small industrial enterprises that employ less than 100 individuals and have a minimal

reserve of capital for production. In Risaralda, the CFP has been significant in fomenting small scale production in the garment industry.

The creation of the Fondo Financiero Industrial (FFI) in 1968 initiated a special means of credit extension to small and medium-sized industrial establishments. The FFI provides capital for these establishments, decentralizes credit to less developed regions, and attempts to create new opportunities for employment.

During the years 1959-1968, the process of diversification was strengthened along with the expansion in the production of intermediate goods and of consumer durables. Further, the division of work at a regional level was accentuated giving rise to what became known as the "golden triangle".² Industrial development in the Old Caldas region, the major coffee producing zone in the country, focused on the two major urban centers of Manizales and Pereira. This region demonstrated a tendency towards specialization in the production of consumer goods, and the rate of growth of the sector of intermediate goods surpassed that of the national average (Jimenez and Sideri 1988).

In 1964 the Sindical Confederation of Colombian Workers (CSTC) was founded as a rival to the CTC and the UTC. In 1971 the General Confederation of Workers (GCT) originated. This group began in a meeting of Antioqueño activists (Accion Sindical Antioqueña <ASA>). The ideological and political division of the union movement and the

²The golden triangle refers to the development of Medellin, Bogota, and Cali as three major industrial centers of the country. Pereira, Risaralda is centrally located providing advantageous access to national as well as international markets. This regional development is significant in the development of the city of Pereira, first as a major commercial center, and later as a producer of consumer goods.

changes which have been expressed in the last 30 years are manifested in: (1) the growth of new centers, the CSTC in 1964 and the CGT in 1970, (2) the loss of power of the CTC to the UTC, and (3) more recently the considerable growth of the unions not affiliated with any confederation (Gomez, Perry, Londoño 1986).

A legal system of contracting workers for selected periods of time, or items of production was accepted in 1965 with decree 2351 of the Colombian Labor Code (Corchuelo 1987). Article 4 of this decree practically institutionalized this contracting method. These unprotected workers may actually appear to participate in "formal" sector production when they are hired as workers within the factory for periods of less than 90 days. Under these contracts, workers do not receive any social security benefits, and have no guarantee of job security. This may be interpreted as "informalizing" the "formal" sector by contracting labor for production in a much more 'casual' manner (Bromley and Gerry 1978). Article 4 of decree 2351 states that contracts for less than one year are possible in order to replace workers on vacation, for increases in production, or increases in sales.

However, according to a representative of the Union of Colombian Workers, the CUT,

The managers of the factory have abused this article and made this practice a custom. This type of contract has been increasing since 1970, very sporadically contracts are made for 1 year - especially in the garment industry. All contracts are made for 2 or 3 months. This practice has been institutionalized to the detriment of the workers. Every year workers' benefits are liquidated and the worker signs a new contract starting from zero. Another year passes and the same thing occurs. This practice has generated much unemployment, among other things...(personal interview May 20 1989).

Temporary Employment

Considering both the salaried work force and independent workers, temporary employment represented 16 percent of total employment in 1984, a rise from 10 percent in 1980 (DANE 1984). The productive activity which relies most heavily on the generation of temporary work in Colombia is the manufacturing industry (Corchuelo 1987). Subcontracting is a specific case of contracting where the labor demand is generally oriented towards home-based workers or small-scale enterprises. The utilization of the subcontracting arrangement is usually based on the relatively cheaper labor costs, the evasion of labor norms in these work places, the technological level of the home-based worker or small-scale enterprise, and the flexibility in the contracting and firing of workers due to changes in the level of economic activity.

At the national level, the number of temporary workers in private employment in Colombia increased from 10.5 percent of the labor force in 1980 to 16.5 percent in 1987.³ According to the Colombian labor code, there are two styles of labor contracting: contracts for fixed terms, and contracts for an indefinite term. The stipulations for fixed term contract include:

³In this region, temporary employment has increased as owners of the largest exporting factory rehire workers under new contracts. Recently this enterprise bought another large factory in the region. Management then began to move the workers from one factory to another. When the workers, who had a contract for a fixed period of time circulated from one factory to the other, they signed new contracts changing the status of their work from a fixed time period, to a shorter period of time, less than 90 days -- or solely for the production of a specific article (interview with union leader).

(1) The contract for fixed term must always be written, their duration cannot be less than 1 year or greater than 3 years, but it is renewable indefinitely; (2) Temporary or occasional workers can be used to replace workers on vacation, to meet increases in production demand, etc. (this is discussed in more detail under temporary workers); (3) If prior to the expiration date of the contract, neither party advises the other party in writing, of their intentions to not prolong the contract with anticipation of 30 days, the contract will be understood to be renewed for one year; (4) a contract requiring highly specialized or technical work may be for less than a year (personal interview May 1989 with union official).

The contract of indefinite work is subject to the following conditions:

(1) The contract not stipulated to be under a fixed contract will refer to one of indefinite time, the duration of this work is not determined by the nature of the task, and does not refer to casually contracted labor. (2) The indefinite contract is valid as long as the conditions which gave rise to its origin and the material of work are available. The worker can terminate the contract through a written notice of 30 days. If this advance notice is not given, then article 8 number 7 will apply for the entire time, or for the lapse of working time which was not completed (personal interview May 1989 with union official).

Often temporary workers are hired under the fixed term contracts. According to the Colombian work code, temporary employment is classified into two groups: that constituted by temporary workers contracted directly by the factory, and temporary workers contracted by an independent agency called "Bolsas de Empleo". The most prevalent form of employment in the garment industrial branch of manufacturing activity in Colombia is contracted directly by the factory. Two of the three modalities involve work within the factory, the third is contracted outside the factory. The types of work encountered in this group include:

- 1) Contracting occasional workers - these contracts are generally for only one month and are distinct from the normal workings of the factory.
- 2) Contracts of a definite term - contracts of less than one year, temporary replacement, labor related to requirements caused by production increases, including labor related to the transportation of goods or the sale of production due to this increase.
- 3) Contracts to home workers - contracts related to the completion of certain phases of the production process performed outside of the factory. This work is generally paid by the piece.

Textile Production

To understand the implications of changes in the structure of production and the social relations of production, we now turn to a study of the specific example of the textile industry. From the initial phases of industrialization, textile production flourished in the Antioqueña region. In 1920, 13 companies existed in the region. By 1945 only four of the original 13 factories remained; the small factories were absorbed by the larger ones. Until 1974, textile production developed fairly rapidly, stimulated by the dynamism of the internal market and the progressive opening of the export sector. Between 1970 and 1973 production and employment in textiles grew at an average annual rate of between 13 percent and seven percent respectively (Londoño 1986). This rate was superior to the industrial average, and the average of the total economy. After 1974, the expansion of the textile industrial sector began to decline, initially as a consequence of the reduction in the domestic sales, an increase in internal prices of 60 percent, and a deterioration in the ability of the majority of the population to purchase textiles (Paus 1982). Although total exports grew by 65 percent, during this year (1974) contribution of the textile sector to exports was reduced to eight percent.

In the textile sector, inventory represented up to 13 percent of production in contrast with five percent in previous years.

The overvaluation of the peso due in part to the 1970s coffee bonanza and the beginning of the drug trade resulted in a decrease in textile exports. The influx of coffee and drug earnings was also inflationary resulting in a large increase of contraband and legal imports, and a loss of industrial and export possibilities. At the height of the textile crisis (1979-82) the repercussions for workers began to be seen through collective and individual firing, indemnification of workers and forced retirement. The increase in the internal prices for textiles, as part of the decrease in exports, especially in the first part of the crisis had further ramifications in the garment factories. Many of these garment factories were forced to close during this period in part because of the increasing price of textiles.⁴

In 1975, the world recession, and the dramatic drop in exports worsened the situation. Competition from countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea decreased the demand for Colombian industrial exports. In general, the factory owners blame the government of Lopez Michelsen for this decrease.⁵ Other scholars, however, state that aspects such as the monopolistic and overprotective structure of the

⁴In Bogota and Barranquilla 9 garment factories closed down, leaving approximately 4,900 workers without jobs. In Pereira 2 large enterprises Galex and Jarcano also closed (Londoño 1986). These factory closings in Pereira will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

⁵ The government's liberation of interest rates, decrease in the rate of monetary devaluation, and liberation of imports produced an increase in the financial costs of the industry, and an increase in the inputs and labor which affected the ability of the industry to compete with contraband on the internal market, and with other industrializing nations in the external market (Londoño 1986).

industry leading to low productivity have been determinants in the loss of competitiveness of the industry in the international market (Morawitz 1989).

Export Promotion and Industrial Development

Emphasis on export promotion continued with the conservative government of Misael Pastrana Borrero (1970-1974). During this period spatial concentration of industrial development continued in eight major centers including: Bogota, Cali and Medellin, and on a lesser scale, Barranquilla, Cartagena, Bucaramanga, Pereira and Manizales. When considering the industrial growth of the regions by sectors, Bogota, Cartagena, Barranquilla, Pereira and Manizales demonstrated growth rates of the production of intermediate goods superior to those of the rest of the country. In regard to capital goods, Medellin, Barranquilla, Bucaramanga, Cartagena, Pereira and Manizales present superior growth levels. The greater dynamism of the sectors of intermediate and capital goods in the eight industrial centers confirms the progressive transformation of the productive industrial structure of the country, as well as the unexpected and rapid growth of Cartagena, Manizales, Pereira, and Bucaramanga during the 1970's (Jimenez and Sideri 1985).

The importance of Medellin, Bucaramanga, Manizales and Pereira in the production of consumer goods can be seen in specific activities: textiles for Medellin, tobacco in Bucaramanga, garments in Pereira, and foodstuffs in Manizales, areas in which these cities have been specializing since the late 1960's. Specifically in the case of Manizales

and Pereira, the industrial centers of Old Caldas, the determining factor in the industrial expansion appears to be the new investment of foreign capital. Contrary to what happened in the Antioqueño region, the local industry of Pereira has grown without a strong connection to the agricultural coffee barons in the region. This differs from the development of the textile industry in Medellin, and has led to investment of the capital accumulated in industrialization in the region, to other geographical areas (Jimenez and Sideri 1985).

At the national level, despite a decline in coffee income, the export sector grew in 1989 with a 16 percent increase in earnings over the previous year. Coffee accounted for just 23 percent of export earnings, approximately the same percentage as petroleum. Textiles and garments were among the fastest growing sectors doubling their value in 1989 to an estimated 507 million, eight percent of total exports (Colombia Today 1/91).

More recently, Colombian industrial enterprises have been affected by the international economic recession, and the Latin American debt crisis. Although Colombia's foreign debt (\$16,500 million by 1988)⁶ was manageable by Latin American standards, it placed a large drain on scarce resources, as the debt cost the country seven percent of the GNP for that year.

⁶Of this 16,500 million dollars, 13,100 was owed by the public sector; 40 percent by electricity and coal and oil sectors alone.

Antioqueño Colonization of Old Caldas and the Subsequent Development of Pereira as a producer of consumer goods

The foundation of Pereira in 1863 was an important event in the Antioqueño colonization of Western Colombia, causing profound economic, social and cultural changes in the country. Prior to the nineteenth century, the lack of successful colonization of this region was attributed to the physical difficulties of the area. By the end of the eighteenth century, groups of peasants and merchants from the eastern area of Medellín (Rionegro and Marinilla) began to migrate southward. For over 100 years, this migration opened up the southeastern part of what is today the Antioqueño region, and all of the Old Caldas region. A combination of factors led to the opening of the southern border of the Antioqueño region including: (1) the search for other sources of gold, (2) the expansion of agricultural cultivation to satisfy the needs of the growing population, (3) the search for new and more fertile lands for the production of coffee.

Agricultural Development

The economy of the Old Caldas region was initially based on agriculture, mining, and cattle raising. Cocoa, leather, and gold were the principal commercial articles. Coffee, introduced into the region in 1865, only became a fundamental pillar of the Old Caldas economy during the beginning of the twentieth century. The production of coffee in this region was based on small-holder plots. However, in recent years there has been an increasing concentration of land into large latifundios.

In 1930, 73.7 percent of the coffee fincas occupied less than five hectares and produced only 26 percent of the final crop, while seven percent of the fincas occupied more than 20 hectares and produced 46 percent of the crop. Thirty six years later, the large fincas represented 85 percent of the total <number of hectares> and had increased their participation in production to 65 percent (Christie 1974).

Although an Agrarian Reform Program was begun in 1961, by the end of the 1960's its goals for small peasant groups was far from being realized. Land concentration and the weakening of the progressive peasant organization (ANUC) implemented during Pastrana's government contributed to the unsuccessful implementation of the agrarian reform.

Statistics from 1970 demonstrate that in Risaralda, units of less than 10 hectares composed 73 percent of the total arable land, and 7.2% of its surface area, while units with over 100 hectares composed only 4 percent of the units, and covered 67 percent of the surface area (Fajardo 1980). According to statistics from the National Federation of Coffee Growers in Colombia (FEDERACAFE) the area occupied by productive coffee in 1970 was distributed as follows: Antioquia 14.5 percent, Tolima 12.8 percent, Valle 12 percent, Cundinamarca 9.6 percent, Caldas, 8.3 percent, Cauca 7.4 percent Quindio 7.9 percent, Santander 7.9 percent, Risaralda 5.8 percent and the rest of the sections of the country 13.9 percent, placing Risaralda in eighth place. In 1980 the situation had not changed considerably. Antioquia increased its participation by 14.7 percent within the superficies of coffee production, Caldas 9.9 percent and Risaralda to 6.5 percent.

In the department of Risaralda, from 1932 to 1970 the number of coffee farms relative to the municipal areas increased slightly in the areas of Marsella Apia and Guatica, a bit more in Pueblo Rico, Pereira, Balboa, Santa Rosa de Cabal, and Belen de Umbria, and in the other three administrative units (Mistrato, Quinchia and Santuario), it decreased:

Those who have acquired coffee lands are from a class which is not linked directly to agriculture, rather it is the professional class. If you go to Marsella, a typical municipio, one finds coffee land owned by engineers, lawyers, dentists because, through this mechanism, they pay a high price for the coffee lands. . . They are changing a peasant class for an industrial class which does not have any peasant ancestry, but which is joining, with a great force, the cultivation of coffee at the national level (Lopez 1988: 108, my translation).

Table 3.1 shows the concentration of coffee lands in the department. In 1970, for example, the coffee fincas with less than 4 hectares represented 53.8 percent of the total and comprised only 10.1 percent of the land. Coffee lands with less than 10 hectares (77.7 percent of the total of the producers) constituted 26.7 percent of the land. In the other extreme, 346 coffee fincas (2.5 percent of the total) had coffee areas based on the size of 50 hectares occupied 29.1 percent of the land. The rest, or 44.2 percent of coffee land was managed by medium sized producers (from 10 to 49.99 hectares) which constituted 19.8 percent of the total of coffee units.

This brief discussion of the coffee economy in the department reveals the growth of an agrarian economy in which the large capitalist coffee enterprises assume an important role in coffee production, with a tendency to exclude the small producer (Lopez 1982). The relationship

Table 3.1

Number of Coffee Farms, Area and Production of Coffee by Hectares of Fincas, 1970

Groups by Size	Number of fincas	Percentage of group	Area	Percentage	Productive	Non Productive	Productivity Kilos/Hectare			
(in hectares)										
Less than one	2,245	15.97	1,226.3	0.95	1,166.4	6.2	1,172.6	631,521	1.74	541.4
1 - 1.99	2,438	17.35	3,477.2	2.71	3,020.3	16.4	3,006.7	1,498,518	4.13	496.1
2- 3.99	2,878	20.50	8,212.7	6.40	6,338.7	38.6	6,377.7	3,266,958	9.01	515.3
4 - 5.99	1,595	11.35	7,775.9	6.06	5,443.7	19.0	5,351.7	2,919,697	8.05	547.5
6 - 7.99	1,061	7.55	5,283.9	5.70	4,577.1	28.2	4,605.3	2,613,208	7.20	570.9
8 - 9.99	707	5.03	6,268.6	4.90	3,807.9	23.2	3,831.1	2,164,766	5.97	508.4
10 - 11.99	546	3.90	5,932.6	4.62	3,455.3	22.4	3,477.7	1,931,405	5.32	558.9
12 - 13.99	387	2.75	4,991.5	3.90	2,774.5	25.9	2,800.4	1,574,412	4.34	567.4
14 - 15.99	314	2.25	4,674.4	3.64	2,623.7	11.9	2,635.6	1,533,470	4.23	584.4
16 - 17.99	242	1.72	4,082.1	3.18	2,113.6	22.1	2,135.7	1,204,401	3.32	569.8
18 - 19.99	188	1.33	3,557.1	2.77	1,826.8	4.5	1,831.3	1,127,784	3.11	617.3
20 - 49.99	1,104	7.85	33,454.5	26.10	14,333.3	137.6	14,470.9	9,223,560	25.5	643.5
50 - 99.99	239	1.70	16,034.5	12.50	5,252.3	24.9	5,276.8	3,455,198	9.53	657.8
100 - 199.99	78	0.55	10,310.5	8.04	2,741.7	10.2	2,751.9	1,897,165	5.23	691.9
200 - 499.99	24	0.17	7,295.2	5.70	1,203.0	14.2	1,217.2	1,010,013	2.78	839.5
500 and over	5	0.03	3,632.6	2.83	552.8	0.0	552.8	199,209	54	360.3
TOTALS	14,051	100.00	128,209.6	100.00	61,120.1	404.9	61,525.0	36,251,285	100.00	593.1

Source: Lopez, William Gutierrez, 1982.

between coffee production in the rural areas, and the industrial growth manifested in the urban sector will be considered next.

Industrial Development

In the 1920's the first large industrial establishments appeared in Pereira. This period coincided with one of economic prosperity for Colombia. In part this was the consequence of the price of coffee which reached high levels between 1924 and 1927. After 1940, the garment industry developed rapidly based on existing artisanal activities. Clothing production in the 1930's and 1940's had been realized primarily by artisans in small factories. The following quotation demonstrates the type of relationship which existed between the outworkers, agents, and factory owners in the 1930's:

As agents we contracted seamstresses who worked in their homes. Monday we gave them the cloth, already cut, thread, buttons, and other materials. Friday we received the merchandise to take it to the market on Saturdays and Sundays. The relationships with the workers were informal, based on friendship and mutual trust. For example it was a common practice to advance money to the workers in times of economic necessity. It was also common to loan money to workers so that they could buy sewing machines (Manuel Rodrigo Becerra, 1979: 23, my translation).

Almost all of the garment factories of Pereira were established by merchants or individuals who had worked as laborers in garment factories. Some were merchants who started their factories based on a small workshop located in the back of their stores. Some of these owners were operators of garment factories, who, based on modest savings from the profits of their work, established small workshops.

According to a study comparing the industrial development of Pereira and Manizales by Manuel Rodriguez Becerra (1979), 75 percent of the garment factories in Pereira today are the product of individuals or a family who promoted and supported their own industry. In the rest of the cases, the factories generally belonged to the action of a small group of commercial businessmen.

In 1935 two industrialists from the Antioqueño region of Colombia, Carlos and Israel Restrepo, initiated the Charles shirt factory. Later, two gentlemen, Jaramillo and Cano, owners of the largest imported goods store, opened a factory in the back of their shop called 'Jarcano'. The Jarcano shirt became a very respected label, and though it was originally produced for the Garantia factory, they eventually became independent, and a small workshop was opened in the home of Jaramillo.

Foreign investment in the industrial development of Pereira began in 1936 with the establishment of the garment factory La Garantia. Foreign investment continues to provide substantial employment for the region. In 1973 factories dominated by foreign capital employed 20 percent of the personnel incorporated in manufacturing industry (Arango 1989).

Table 3.2

Pereira-Dos Quebradas:
Foreign capital in local Industry, 1988

Enterprise	Year Founded	Capital Origin	Percent of Foreign capital	Personnel Employed
Panos Omnes (Textiles)	1950	Panama France United States	21	467
La Rosa (Foodstuffs)	1950	England	100	700
Hilos Cadena (Thread)	1952	Sweden	100	817
Papeles Nacionales (Paper)	1960	Canada	92	600
Colpapel (Paper)	1967	United States	50	400
Nicole (garments)	1975	United States	80	900
Suzuki (Motors)	1982	Japan	85	311
Valher (Garments)	1969	United States	51	500

Source: Jaime Arango Gaviria, 1989.

In the 1950's three factories of foreign capital initiated production in Pereira: the factory Panos Omnes (1950), a subsidiary of a French textile factory; the factory of Confites and Galletas La Rosa, 1950, subsidiary of an English multinational, and the factory Hilos Cadena

(1954) subsidiary of a Swiss multinational. In the 1960's the presence of foreign capital increased in Pereira with the addition of the following factories: (1) Papeles Nacionales, which began in 1962 as the subsidiary of a Canadian firm; (2) a car assembly firm (Roa Hispano Colombiana) founded by a group of Spaniards and a group from Pereira, a project which later failed.

In the 1960's several different projects were developed to foment manufacturing industry in the city. These projects were promoted by a groups of Pereirano industrialists (one third of whom were garment factory owners) who actively participated in the promotion and strengthening of industries different from the traditional ones and the foundation of the group "Promotora Industrial". This group provided the base for the creation of the Corporación Financiera del Occident which provided economic assistance and credit to large scale factories. The foundation of a local branch of the Corporacion Financiera Popular in Pereira in 1969 significantly advanced manufacturing production in the city by providing credit to small scale producers. This organization has played a central role in the development of small scale industries, especially in the garment industry.

The exportation of garments in Colombia is regulated by the Plan Vallejo first implemented in 1967. The Plan Vallejo is one of the most important tools in the promotion of exports and in international commerce for the region. This decree defines the operations in which individuals, societies, exporters, or merchants can import raw materials destined for assembly in the country, and later export the assembled materials. The raw material or disassembled pieces imported under this plan, must be used exclusively in the production of goods destined for

exportation. Through this process, the importers acquire the right to bring into the country, on a second occasion, the same quantity of raw material previously imported without having to pay taxes.

The majority of exports under the Plan Vallejo are destined to the United States. Further, more than 80 percent of imports which come from the United States for assembly in Colombia are destined to garment production. In Pereira, more than 20 firms participate directly in production for exportation under the Plan Vallejo and about 25 garment factories participate either indirectly (subcontracted) or directly.

Regional Development

Pereira, the capital of Risaralda, is a city which has grown from 115,000 to 287,00 inhabitants between 1951 and 1985. In 1951, 66 percent of the population of the Risaralda was rural and 34 percent urban. In 1985, only 19 percent of the population lived in the rural areas and Pereira figured as the tenth city in national importance for its urban population. However, the industrial development of Pereira must be evaluated in direct relation to the changes and evolution of the population in Dos Quebradas (the industrial zone to the north of the city). Dos Quebradas doubled its population between 1973 and 1985 passing from 50,000 to 103,000 inhabitants. Dos Quebradas grew notably in its density from 700 inhabitants /square km to almost 1500 inhabitants /square km. Pereira had a moderate increase with the population in its total area increasing from 346 to 438 inhabitants per square km. In the two municipal areas, the "rural" density also doubled.

These facts demonstrate the tendency of the population of Risaralda to be concentrated in these two cities. While in 1973 Pereira and Dos Quebradas maintained approximately 55 percent of the Risaralda population, in 1985 this proportion had grown to almost 63 percent.⁷ In 1973 the rate of in-migration was 35 percent for Quindio, 30 percent for Risaralda and 17 percent for Caldas. In the same year, Pereira presented a high rate of immigration with 56 percent. As with other large cities (Bogota, Ibague, Cali and Armenia among others), Pereira maintains a rate of immigrants to natives greater than 1.

In order to understand these processes of redistribution and relocation of the population, we must consider the material conditions in which the regional economy develops. As previously mentioned, coffee production dominates the regional economy. In the last few years, coffee production has decreased its importance because of the rapid decline in international prices (e.g. the breaking of the London Pact in 1989), the invasion of a bacteria called roya, and the increase in the price of the inputs and fertilizer required. All of these factors contribute to the precarious condition of the small coffee farmers who can hardly afford to

⁷Census data from 1973 and 1985 for Pereira and Dos Quebradas demonstrate that salaried workers (empleados, obreros and jornaleros and empleados domesticos) who made up 73 percent of the labor force in 1973 maintained this level of participation in 1985. However, independent workers grew from 12 percent in 1973 to 19 percent in 1981 demonstrating that the informal sector of the economy continues to expand while the formal sector maintains its level of productivity. During the past decade, economic concentration in the Pereira - Dos Quebradas region has led to an increase in the economically active population, especially in the category of independent worker. The increasing number of productive small scale enterprises in the region demonstrate some of the variety of ways in which workers are increasingly incorporated into the labor force in a disadvantaged state, with few benefits and no protection.

produce their traditional coffee. In 1989 a 40 percent fall in coffee prices led to the impoverishment of many small producers (Pearce 1990). Decreases in regional production and commercialization of coffee eliminated considerable regional employment in the rural areas. The development of capitalist agriculture has affected the relations of production in the rural areas. These rural workers, displaced by technified machinery in the coffee fincas, migrate initially towards Pereira and Dos Quebradas, forming part of the growing urban proletariat and labor for import substitution.

Charles Bergquist describes the situation in the region as follows:

. . . In the decades since mid-century there has been steady concentration of landholding patterns in Colombian agriculture, an increase in mechanization and capitalist investment in agriculture, and a corresponding growth in the number of landless wage workers in the countryside. Even coffee production, which historically proved so resistant to pure capitalist forms and favored the growth and maintenance of small producers and the family owned and operated farm, has witnessed in recent decades a revolution in production techniques, tenancy and labor systems. The application of capital and advanced techniques to coffee production has, since mid-century slowly undermined the competitive position of smallholders. (Bergquist 1986:371).

Undoubtedly developments in rural agriculture have affected urban industrial developments. The growing urban population, in part, determines the structure of the potential labor force.

Regional Manufacturing Industry

In Pereira, formal sector industrial production is dominated by five industries: foodstuffs, beverages, textiles, garments and paper. Table 3.3 describes the structure of industrial production in the region. As this

table demonstrates, foodstuffs generated the most production, as well as employed the largest number of personnel. However, garments maintained the largest number of establishments and were not far behind foodstuffs in 1981 with 26.5 percent of the personnel employed. Further, because the nature of subcontracting within the garment industry hides many workers in clandestine workshops or their homes, the total number of employees, and actual production figures are probably higher than census estimates.

Table 3.3

Pereira-Dos Quebradas. Manufacturing Industry.
General Summary: Percent Participation, 1981

Industrial Classification Workers	Number of Establishments	Gross Product Millions of Dollars	Percentage of Total
Foodstuffs	18.6	34.3	
Beverages	2.2	9.7	
Textiles	7.4	11.4	
Garments	24.7	14	
Paper	2.2	10.9	
Others	44.9	19.7	
Total	231 (100%)	20,525 (100)%	

Source: Arango 1989.

Major indicators of manufacturing industrial activity in Colombia situate the metropolitan area of Pereira-Dos Quebradas as the sixth in importance in value added, number of establishments, production,

intermediate consumption, salaries, and benefits. In 1982 Pereira occupied the fifth place in quantity of personnel occupied with the most active industrial activities including food, drinks, textiles, garments, and paper. Garments, together with foodstuffs, account for over 50 percent of the industrial activity in the region. The active presence of foreign investment in the large factories reinforces the concentration of capital in the industrial sector. This foreign investment is often consolidated to the point that many establishments (including those involved in garment production), have less than 20 percent Colombian participation (Arango 1989). The increasing foreign participation in the regional economy demonstrates their increased dependence on international forces for generating the capital for local and regional industries.

Contemporary Colombian Development

Recently the Colombian economy has begun a process of "opening". This process is part of a plan to internationalize the Colombian economy and modernize their productive capacity. The liberalization of exports and "opening up" of the Colombian economy to foreign investors affects all industrialists (large, medium and small).

This so called "opening up" of the Colombian economy will allow products from the exterior to compete with Colombian products. This opening involves (in addition to changes in foreign commerce policy) a variety of entities (including "proexpo" the Colombian entity involved with regulating Exports, and Incomex, the agency involved in regulating Imports) and a series of structural reforms in financing, foreign exchange, transportation and labor (Semana 12/21/1990). The goal of this process is to

increase the growth rate of the economy, limited by the size of the national economy. One theory is that if industrialists become more competitive in the international market and succeed in selling their product, their growth possibilities are greater and they will be able to generate more employment.

However, this "economic opening" must occur gradually in order to allow the industrialists to prepare for competition in the foreign market. This involves "industrial conversion" or the modernization of the machinery in the factories. Often this modernization results in the utilization of machinery which replaces the work of several individuals. This "industrial conversion" contradicts the above mentioned theory of employment generation which should accompany the industrial opening. If, in order to compete in the international market, workers are replaced with machines (which supposedly do the job faster and more efficiently) where is the employment generation?

While these policies may be beneficial to the large scale producer, the small scale producers are in a disadvantaged position. Their lack of independent access to a market (without being subcontracted) their lack of access to capital, their limited access to technology, and their lack of knowledge of the production process subordinate these producers to the larger capitalist enterprises. The weakest link in this chain of development (which begins with increasing production of the large scale capitalist and ends with employment generation) are the workers. Even though the Colombian Congress has approved "the most ambitious labor reform in forty years" the degree to which these reforms actually protect the workers, and the degree to which they can be adequately enforced are debatable.

These labor reforms modify four aspects of the labor regime: (1) the individual's rights to work, (2) the collective rights of workers, (3) the

management of temporary work agencies and (4) norms regarding the closure of factories. In the regulation of labor laws the most important changes related to the "cesantias" or pensions of the workers. Cesantias are pensions (or an extra month of pay) received by workers. The new labor reform eliminates the retroactive nature of pensions. The pensions of the workers was set when they were hired and, and was subject to the cost of living at that time. Under this plan workers were disadvantaged because while the cost of living rose, their pension rate was fixed much lower. However, the new law which goes into effect in 1991 guarantees the workers a profit equal to the market rate. The pensions which are not used by the workers will further be guaranteed 12 % interest. One of the major drawbacks of this new law is that it only affects workers who are hired in 1991.

In addition, a new law was introduced which introduces the "integral salary" a salary which covers more than just the basic needs of an individual (equivalent, perhaps to what we call in English the family wage). This "integral salary", however, is only available for those who make more than 10 minimum wage salaries (only four percent of the Colombians population earn this wage). However, the limited worker benefits provided by the new "cesantias" laws are minimal, especially when one considers that only those who work in the "formal" sector are affected by this legislation.

In order to consider how these political changes affecting industrial development impact on women's labor force incorporation and household strategies for income generation, we must return to a consideration of the garment workers households. As previously stated, declining wages accompanied by rising unemployment have led to women's assuming a primary role in income generating strategies for household survival. In addition the continuing declining value of the peso, coupled by sustained

violence in rural areas has lead to increased prices for food, and a rising cost of living, adding to the economic pressures at the household level.

Conclusion

This chapter began with a discussion of the origins of the manufacturing industry in Colombia emphasizing the relationship between state policy and industrialization in Colombian economic development. The evolution of industrial development in Colombia was characterized by certain regions specializing in the production of consumer goods, with other regions assuming dominance in the production of capital goods. The development of a "golden triangle" provided Pereira with an advantageous position for the production of consumer goods. The increasing technification of coffee production in the last few years and the industrial growth in the Metropolitan Area of Pereira (including Pereira and Dos Quebradas) have led to high rates of migration from the rural to urban areas. Finally, an exploration of the contemporary structure of the manufacturing industry in the department of Risaralda demonstrated the predominance of the garment industry in the process of industrialization of Pereira and Dos Quebradas. The dominance of garment production (which utilizes mainly a female labor force) in the history of industrialization of this region highlights the importance of women's labor force participation in regional development.

In the next chapter I consider the structure of the labor market of the garment industry in more detail, focusing on the mechanism of subcontracting within the process of production. The process of

subcontracting determines the context within which the home-based workers and micro-entrepreneurs produce for the garment industry.

CHAPTER FOUR SUBCONTRACTING AND INDUSTRIAL OUTWORKERS IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY

Introduction

The future generations laid waste by the hunger of capital for higher rates of accumulation are yet to be known...The present victims of its capacity are all too frequently women...
Elson and Pearson 1981

Chapter Three discussed the socioeconomic aspects of regional development responsible for the increase in subcontracting. This chapter examines the structure of production within the garment industry as it conditions women's labor force participation. "Putting-out" part of the production process, through a formal or informal contract, is called subcontracting. Subcontracting is a mechanism which fragments and decentralizes production creating a hierarchy of better paid, more secure jobs in the factory, which contrast in general with low-paying home-based production. The linkages created by the process of subcontracting are discussed as mechanisms which create and reproduce subordinate hierarchical social relationships in the garment industry. A discussion of the variety of linkages (intermediaries who obtain home-based workers for the factory who are external to factory, factory workers who serve as intermediaries, or no intermediaries) utilized to link subcontracted producers to different types of

enterprises (subcontracted industrial outworkers, family small-scale enterprises, and non-familial, small-scale enterprises) follows, emphasizing the autonomy and/or subordination of the producer in relation to the larger capitalist factories.

The role of intermediaries, their characteristics, and the control which they exercise over subcontracted producers' access to, and control of, key resources are discussed. The significance of the division of labor by gender can be seen in that the majority of the intermediaries are men. These intermediaries, in turn, control the labor of subcontracted industrial outworkers, who are generally women. The work of an intermediary requires traveling alone and working with male factory owners. For these reasons, the majority of the intermediaries are men. In this research, only one woman intermediary was encountered. This woman was a widow, free from the ideological constraints which prohibit most women from traveling alone as intermediaries.

The Subcontracting Relationship

Watanabe (1983) distinguishes two types of subcontracting: (1) those factories that contract out production without raw materials (in other words, the home-based worker is responsible for providing the raw materials) and (2) those that provide raw materials and other inputs. Beneria and Roldan (1987), in their study of subcontracting relationships in Mexico, refer to the first as "vertical subcontracting" and the second as "horizontal". Both methods of subcontracting were encountered in this Colombian study. The majority of the subcontracted industrial outworkers, however, participated in horizontal

subcontracting which utilized intermediaries. The high percentage of subcontracted industrial outworkers in the category of horizontal subcontracting is due in part to the cost of the raw materials. In horizontal subcontracting the subcontracted industrial outworkers do not have to provide these raw materials, facilitating entrance into this sector. In general, vertical subcontracting (which requires enough initial capital to purchase raw materials on the part of the worker) was done directly with the small-scale enterprises and subcontracted industrial outworkers; intermediaries were not involved.

Horizontal subcontracting accentuates the differences between the factory and the subcontracted industrial outworkers. Generally the control of the raw materials and structuring of the process of production remains with the large factory. Under vertical subcontracting, the price for the final garment is significantly higher, and the subcontracted industrial outworker maintains more control of the production. This control ranges from designing the garment and cutting it to finishing it off.

Production which occurs in the home as subcontracted industrial outwork is usually small-scale, unregulated, and labor intensive, which places it in the category of "informal sector" production. Whether we are discussing sub-contracting relationships between the first world and the third world, within a country, or within a city, subcontracting represents a fragmentation and decentralization of the labor process.

The Subcontracting Relationship in Risaralda

The subcontracting relationship structures a considerable amount of production in the garment industry in this region. According to this research,

70 percent of the garment factory owners in Pereira and Dos Quebradas participate in the subcontracting chain, either directly or indirectly. In other words, 70 percent of the owners stated that they work for other factories, meaning that they produce part or all of a garment for the other factory during certain times of the year. Fifty percent said that they send work to others, meaning that they send work out to other factories, small-scale enterprises, or subcontracted industrial outworkers, while 40 percent of the factories participate in both forms of contracting, that is, they work for other factories and send work to other factories. These data demonstrate the importance of analyzing the industrial mechanism of subcontracting in order to accurately analyze the structure of the labor force in the industry (see Figure 4.1).

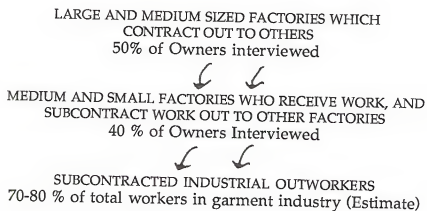


Figure 4.1
Diagram of Subcontracting Chain in Pereira, Risaralda

Subcontracting work to homeworkers occurs most frequently at the end of the year (Christmas holiday season), father's day, and mother's day. These are times of the year when the demand for clothing as gifts is highest. In this case, subcontracting offers the possibility of transferring the risks of

fluctuations in production and the costs associated with temporary increases in the production, both in machinery and personnel, to homeworkers.

Subcontracting extends fragmentation of the labor process beyond the factory. The process of decentralization within the factory lowers the cost of the labor force through deskilling of the workers (Braverman 1974). This occurs through the breaking down of jobs into smaller and smaller tasks, and the utilization of workers with less skills who work for a lower salary. This division can also be seen between large, medium, small factories and subcontracted industrial outworkers. The organization of production through subcontracting not only minimizes labor costs, but also wrestles control from actual producers over their products. Fragmentation of the labor process, therefore, is extended beyond the factory (Beneria 1989).

The garment industry makes women's work invisible by contracting it out into the home. The main mechanism by which this process is pushed underground and made invisible is through organization of production through subcontracting. Subcontracting decreases the infrastructure investment necessary on the part of the large capitalist enterprise in machines, electricity, and building space. There is also a reduction in the number of workers for whom the factory is responsible in terms of social security payments and other benefits. Key informants of this research stated that approximately 80 percent of workers participating in the garment industry perform their jobs outside the formal factory setting. The research of Florencia Peña (1989) for Mexico supports this, stating that for every factory worker there are at least three homeworkers. Violeta Sara-Lafosse (1985) estimates that, for Peru, approximately 80 percent of workers in the garment industry are hidden in their homes.

The main characteristics of subcontracting include the supplying of raw material to the producers (who remain in their houses) by agents who afterwards collect the finished goods and pay the producers their wages on a piece rate basis. Although this system has existed since garment production began in the late 1920's in Risaralda, the new element is the extreme horizontal and vertical division of labor, reorganizing women's work on what has been called "an invisible assembly line" (Mies 1982). By the horizontal division of labor, I refer to the fact that the labor of these homeworkers is appropriated by middlemen and larger factory owners in such a manner that the women are isolated in their homes, isolated not only from factory production, but also from other women who produce the same garment. This isolation reinforces the women's vulnerability and prohibits the formation of solidarity and class consciousness.

The assembly line created by subcontracting work is called invisible because the women workers do not see how it operates. Only the middle men (who, as previously mentioned, are men) or factory owners (also generally men) know how the putting-out system functions, and who performs which operations. The knowledge of how to make an entire garment is often unavailable to these women. In addition, the subcontracted industrial outworkers do not know for which exporters agents work, they do not know anything about the agents' margin of profit, and in many cases they don't even know the names of the agents. Although the homeworkers see and talk with the agents, they don't understand the relationship between agents and the factory. To the extent that the women never know how the entire garment is produced, or what their relationship with the intermediary means, they do not totally understand the process of production.

Subcontracting as Articulation Between Formal and Informal Sectors

Small-scale enterprises rely on family labor and local resources, low capital investment, labor intensive technology, high competition, ease of entry, utilization of an unskilled work force, and acquisition of skills outside of the formal educational system. In this research, subcontracted microenterprises fall within the sector of economic activity that is generally not registered with government agencies, is unrepresented by official statistics, and does not comply with regulations governing labor practices, taxes, and licensing. These 'informal sector' activities are informal in terms of their internal organizational structure, and in terms of their relationships with the social structure which surrounds them (Sethuraman 1976). Of the subcontracted industrial outworkers interviewed in this study, fewer than five percent signed any type of written contract with an intermediary (because there were generally no formal contracts with the intermediaries).

In all cases, the articulation is part of a highly integrated system of production segmented into different levels and of an overall process of accumulation that encompasses all of the levels. In this sense the conceptualization of formal, informal dichotomy is not appropriate insofar as the two sectors are viewed as separate and independent of each other. (Beneria and Roldan: 187).

In the informal sector, production fluctuates greatly. Because informal sector business operators have little access to capital, they often must stop production when they run out of the raw materials needed for production. In general, they cannot accumulate an inventory, or purchase the necessary technology or machinery that would enable them to secure their position in

the market. They often depend on intermediaries to bring them work from factory owners. Their dependency may force them to take work at a lower pay rate, or for only a short period of time, with the hope that more steady work will become available for them in the future.

In cases of horizontal subcontracting, this study encountered four methods of articulation between subcontracted industrial outworkers and the larger factory. Three of these are described by Beneria and Roldan (1987). Beneria and Roldan describe the first type of articulation, "direct articulation", as that in which a regular firm sends production to subcontracted industrial outworkers and small-scale enterprises without intermediaries. In the Colombian sample, this articulation was found among small-scale enterprises which have direct contact with the home-based producers. The second type is described as "mediated articulation". This takes place through an intermediary unit that establishes the connection between large and medium sized factories and subcontracted industrial outworkers. Generally no production occurs at the intermediary level, although the intermediary may distribute and transport the raw materials and gather the final products. The third type that they describe is "mixed articulation", where production is centered in a store that sells garments, but the production of garments is clandestine in the basement.

A fourth type of articulation encountered in this Colombian study was seen predominantly in the large factories. This articulation demonstrates another way in which the labor force is expanded without direct contracts. This "unmediated articulation" involved using garment workers (of the factory) as intermediaries and also owners of small-scale enterprises in their homes. These workers performed garment work in the factory during low periods of demand, while during periods of high demand, they worked in

their homes subcontracted by the large factory. The large factory provided them with training on how to deal with the employees in their small-scale enterprises and low-interest loans for buying machines. The workers themselves were the intermediaries in this case. In fact, this method of subcontracting was the only one encountered in the large factory because of problems with quality control. The women who are permitted to open their own small workshops (or what they call 'boutiques') work in quality control in the larger export factory. These women are hand-picked by factory management and given courses in the administration of micro-enterprises. These women start their own microenterprise during peak production. When the demand for garments slackens, workers in the small-scale enterprises are let go, but the women administering the small-scale enterprises retain their positions in quality control in the larger factory.

Intermediaries as Agents of Articulation

The intermediaries play a key role in establishing the relationship between the factory and the subcontracted industrial outworkers (or small-scale enterprise). This research encountered three types of intermediaries: those who were only involved in distributing cut cloth to producers and returning the final product to the factory; those who bought the cloth, distributed it to be cut, and then redistributed it for sewing; and those who distributed part of the cut cloth which they had received to other subcontracted industrial outworkers, and performed part of the production process in their homes. In this case, access to, and control of, raw materials plays a significant role in determining the autonomy of the intermediaries. Those

intermediaries who bought, as well as distributed, the cloth were more autonomous than those who only distributed the cloth, although the capital to buy the cloth generally (though not always) came from the owner of the store where the final product was sold. In all cases, the intermediaries were employed in only the small- and medium- sized factories. The larger factory had individuals who managed the small-scale enterprises, who were employees of the factory. In this way, the factory owners were able to expand production and maintain considerable control of the labor force.

The relationship between the factory owner and the intermediary also varies between the types of larger enterprises which subcontract. On the one hand, a factory owner may organize the work within the factory and also be responsible for distributing work to intermediaries and subcontracted industrial outworkers. On the other hand, a factory owner may only provide a point to sell the finished goods, giving the intermediary the responsibility for organizing the production process and distributing the work to the subcontracted industrial outworkers and micro-enterprises.

The relationship between the factory owner and intermediary determines the control which the intermediary exercises over the process of production. Those owners who allow the intermediaries to distribute cloth and pick up the finished product (providing only the store front for selling) maintain much less control over the process than those who design the garment, cut the fabric, and finish it in their centralized shop. By maintaining this control, these owners are able to pay lower prices to home-based workers (because the workers perform fewer tasks), charge higher prices for the finished product, and maintain a larger profit by accumulating more of the surplus generated by subcontracting out the production.

The relationship between the intermediary and the subcontracted industrial outworker is also constrained by the relationship of the intermediary to the larger factory owner. The control which the intermediary exercises over the process of production further determines, in large part, the degree of control available for the subcontracted industrial outworkers to exercise over this process, and the degree to which the subcontracted industrial outworker is subordinated or autonomous. For example, the subcontracted industrial outworker who received whole cloth had more autonomy than those who received the cloth pre-cut. The knowledge and ability to cut and design a garment gave the subcontracted industrial outworkers more control over the process of production. Those subcontracted industrial outworkers who exercise more control over the production process are more autonomous, and receive a higher pay rate for their products. The subcontracted industrial outworkers who received pre-cut material and performed only one operation (such as sewing on a pocket) maintained much less control over the production process. This analysis of control over the process of production is crucial to understanding the mechanisms which create and reproduce the subordinate position of women in the structure of production.

In the process of interviewing the homeworkers, many problems which the women experienced with the intermediaries were articulated. Luz Maria, for example, had converted one of her rooms into a small sweatshop. When I entered for the interview, six machines whirled as young women worked furiously on the mountains of cut cloth which lay beside their machines. Luz's sister inspected the work and ironed the finished articles. As I spoke with Luz, the intermediary from factory G stopped by to pick up an order. Luz demanded payment for all the articles produced. She did good work, and the intermediary paid her for it. (Although I think that my presence there helped

her obtain her due pay). Apparently, many intermediaries initially reject good quality production in order to later sell the same article themselves. In other words, Mr. X contracts Luz to make 50 blouses. Of those 50, he accepts 25, and pays her 400 pesos for each one. However, the other 25 are "no good", and either he sells them and keeps the profit, or she must sell them and reimburse him for the cost of the material which he can set as high as he pleases (though Luz said she usually paid 100 pesos for the 400 peso blouses). Often, the woman is stuck paying for the blouses from the pay which the intermediary gave her, until she can find a buyer for the other 25 blouses (which may have been rejected only because the factory owner didn't need all 50 blouses). The poorest women, especially burdened by this situation, know no one who can buy their excess production.

After the intermediary left, Luz Maria explained to me that she was recently robbed by a different intermediary who never paid her, nor did he ever turn in the garments to the factory. He just disappeared with 8,000 pesos (\$200) worth of goods. The experience had understandably made her quite skeptical of intermediaries.

Some intermediaries pay for half of the goods when they buy them. They pay for the other half two weeks later. Several subcontracted industrial outworkers interviewed never received the second payment for their work. In the interim, they had not been able to pay the bills, and their electricity had been turned off. This prohibited them from continuing garment production. One home-based producer who had problems with payments from the factory had been working in her home since 1983 and always bought the thread. Although she had made 140 pesos per shirt (in 1983 when she started, she only earned 50), she found it very difficult to make ends meet.

Elsa, one of the poorest home-based producers, placed pockets on shirts and earned 15 pesos per pocket. Elsa had 3 children, and her husband worked as a cobbler. Her meager income assisted the household's difficult economic situation. Elsa could put 10 pockets on in an hour, and she stated that she worked an average of 6 hours a day. Her average income was 900 pesos daily (about U.S. \$2.00). The minimum wage at this time was 25,500 bi-weekly (12,250 a week, or about 2,050 pesos daily which comes down to about U.S. \$4.00 per day). The range of pay rates among subcontracted industrial outworkers varied significantly: shirts and blouses went from 100 to 400 pesos for the entire garment, and slacks were paid from 600 to 1500 pesos.

In addition to the poor pay, the subcontracted industrial outworkers complained that the work was very irregular. Sometimes they would go for weeks or months without work. Often the quality of the cloth, buttons, or zippers they were given by the intermediaries was bad. The owners of the factory then complained to the subcontracted industrial outworkers about the quality of the finished product. Yet these women were not responsible for the quality of these inputs.

These brief descriptions of the relationship of subcontracted industrial outworkers to intermediaries demonstrate mechanisms utilized by these intermediaries to maintain control over the subcontracted industrial outworkers. Levels of subcontracting are also important to consider in order to understand the subordinate position of the subcontracted industrial outworkers.

Levels of Subcontracting

There was a greater difference in the levels of subcontracting in the factory with national capital than in the factory with mixed (both national and foreign) capital. By levels of subcontracting, I refer to the number of times the same item is contracted out. For example, a large factory could contract to a smaller factory work on a specific garment. This factory in turn could contract work to a micro-enterprise, which could in turn contract work to women in their homes. In this type of contracting, four levels of subcontracting were encountered, however, it is anticipated that more exist¹. Due to the illegal nature of the work (non-contractual, piece work pay, performed in unregistered micro-enterprises or homes) and poor working conditions under which subcontracted industrial outwork is carried out, it was often difficult to locate and talk with women who work at the lowest end of the chain.

The factory with multinational capital is able to cut labor costs *without* subcontracting. This factory demonstrated less of a tendency to contract out in a chain-like fashion. The quality control in the factory with mixed capital was so strict that many homeworkers refused to work for the factory. Instead of subcontracting homework to individuals in their homes, this factory chose, more often, to pursue a policy of contracting temporary workers in the factory for a specific lot of garments. These workers' contracts were from 15 to 90 days. Through this method of contracting arrangements, the factory avoided paying social security or any other benefit to the worker. If workers are contracted for more than 90 days, then the factory is obliged to pay these social costs for the

¹Beneria and Roldan found several more levels of subcontracting in their study of Mexico (1987).

workers. The factory with national capital was not as concerned with strict quality controls, therefore, they were more likely to subcontract outside of the factory in the chain-like fashion previously described.

Subcontracting and Subordination in the Garment Industry

This discussion of subcontracting as it creates and reproduces subordinate relationship within the garment industry will consider (in addition to differential payment for work) the workers' access to and control of raw materials, and access to and control of the markets. Within the sample of workers subcontracted outside the factory, there is considerable variation in the price which they were paid for the article or piece of garment produced (the variation within this sample represents different levels of autonomy and subordination within these subcontracted workers). Although the international market (exports) was controlled by the multinational factory, factories with national capital had varying degrees of control over the national market. This control over the national market depended on the quality of the garment and the factory's ability to successfully market to a specific 'target' population (young children, work uniforms, men's shirts, women's executive dress, etc.).

A comparison of the pay rate of the homeworkers with the pay rate of factory workers demonstrates how the rate varies considerably with the garment or part of the garment produced within the sample of subcontracted workers. In November of 1988 in Pereira, making a button hole paid 50 centavos, which is one half of a peso, and in this period there were about 350 pesos to the dollar. A good seamstress can do 70 buttonholes in an hour, which

means she can earn 35 pesos an hour. That would not even pay for a soda for her lunch. Another home-worker was paid three pesos for both doing a button hole and placing the button. Finishing off a shirt paid 10 pesos, finishing off a pair of pants paid 12, putting a collar on a shirt paid 8 pesos, inspecting the article before packing it paid 5 pesos. Some women were able to earn 4,000 pesos weekly, though most made only 2-3,000. When considering that the minimum wage for factory workers was 25,500 biweekly, the considerable differences in the pay between factory workers, and subcontracted industrial outworkers becomes evident². In most cases, the women who worked at home also bought the thread and paid for the electricity which the production required.

It is important to note that thread cost 100 pesos per small spool. To complete an entire shirt (long sleeved adult) at least 2 spools of thread were needed. Many of these subcontracted industrial outworkers were only making 170-200 pesos per shirt in the period of low demand, waiting for higher shirt prices in the season of high demand (up to 400 pesos per shirt). Therefore, during the times of low demand these households relied even more heavily on the income generation of family members other than the subcontracted industrial outworker.

²Although factory workers were entitled to receive the minimum wage, often their pay was less, and the regulations for paying overtime and holidays was insufficient. These problems with the factory will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Access and Control of Markets

Export production (by factories with mixed capital) in this region provides these enterprises with access to, and control of, a wider market, and consequently to the raw materials significant in the production of garments. The factories with national capital were generally denied access to export markets (unless they export indirectly through the Plan Vallejo, subcontracting from a factory with mixed capital). They were forced to compete fiercely for local and regional markets. This competition, in turn, forced factories to hire cheaper labor (driving labor costs down). In order to maintain specific markets, these factories produced quality items at the lowest prices. In this case, the existence of small micro-enterprises which can be integrated or expelled from the production process with little risk were convenient for the medium- and large-sized factories. Their limited access to the export market was generally through subcontracted arrangements with larger factories. However, in some instances, the small factories are able to establish their own garment line, and attempt more autonomous production for local or regional markets. In general, large factories have had to focus their production on standardized articles, while smaller enterprises have produced for a specific sex, age-group or socioeconomic strata (Schmukler 1977). The availability of subcontracting to small and medium-sized enterprises which may specialize in a specific type of garment allows the larger factory greater control of the market.

A significant variable affecting the factories' access to and control of the market for garments is its capital composition. For example, factories which

utilize only national capital had access to a smaller market, and less control of the market than factories with multinational capital. Control of the market is attributed to a variety of factors, some of which are related to the patterns of regional industrialization (as discussed in chapter three).

Another significant factor affecting the factories' access to the market is their size. The vulnerability of the small-scale, home-based producers, and their subordinate position in the production process, is related to fluctuations characteristic of the garment industry. These fluctuations strongly impede the ability of the subcontracted enterprises to consistently maintain their autonomous position in the market because they are unable to maintain profits in the off season. According to Schmukler (1977) variations in the process of production (which affect most strongly the medium and small-sized garment factories) include: cyclical fluctuations of the market related to state policy and macro-economic development (such as the changing structure of demand due to impact of low-income sectors on garment markets), periodic changes in style, and special needs of holiday seasons .

Access and Control of Raw Materials

Access to, and control of, raw materials is also a significant factor affecting the subordinate position of homebased producers. The subcontracted industrial outworkers' access to, and control of, raw materials is often mediated by intermediaries. In the case of the export factory with mixed capital, the raw material for these garments is imported (already cut) from Miami. The only factory which has access to this material is the large export factory, which can then subcontract to smaller factories which receive all the raw materials (including thread) from the large export factory. The control

over the quality of the raw materials and its cutting rests entirely with the company in Miami which carefully selects its sister plants in foreign countries.

An official from "Pro-Expo" (the governmental agency regulating exportation) in Pereira stated that the garment industry had been damaged by the recession in the United States and other industrialized countries, the high cost of raw materials, and the protection of the industries in the developed, industrialized nations. He stated that the capacity of the city to meet the demand for exports would be increased if other factories would begin production utilizing "Plan Vallejo"³ The system of subcontracted production limits substantially what the subcontracted industrial outworker can control with respect to the quality of the product, the quantity of items produced, and the time within which they are completed. However, it gives them the possibility to organize their own technical process of production with respect to the stages and style of the work. It also permits them to have control of the intensity of their own work and make decisions with respect to the inclusion or not of family workers. Nevertheless, the lack of control of the raw materials imposes important limitations to the control of the working process.

Relationships within the Subcontracted Enterprise

In order to understand the complexities of the subcontracting relationship, it is important to distinguish between home-based producers and small-scale enterprises (which may be based on familial or non-familial workers). Subcontracted industrial outworkers in this study refer to workers

³Plan Vallejo is one of the more important instruments regulating the promotion of exports in Colombia. Also known as decree 444 of 1967, it was designed by the minister of development, Dr. Jose Joaquin Vallejo. This decree establishes conditions under which the exporter can import raw materials, intermediate goods, and capital goods free of taxes if they are used solely for the production of goods for exports and will increase the dividends accrued to the region for exporting.

who work in their home (this may appear to be redundant, but as will be seen in the analysis the physical location of the work is important), and have few resources and little access to additional labor outside female family members (in other words, the women work alone or with one machine and the assistance of few family members). "Subcontracted industrial outworkers" in this sample did not hire additional (non-family) members. "Small-scale family-based enterprises" utilize the labor of more than one family member, have more than one machine, and may work in the home or in another location, although they seldom hire non-familial workers. "Small-scale enterprises" refer to those who work outside the home, have several machines (at least three) and may contract (non-family) workers. Although there is much variety within the category of small-scale enterprise, for purposes of this research units employing from 1 to 10 non-familial workers are considered small-scale enterprises because the social relations of production which characterize them are similar (see figure 4.2).

The social relationships within the subcontracted enterprise also have significant implications for labor force utilization and profit generation. It is easier for the home-based producer to "exploit" the labor of other family members, in the sense that family members work for free. Small-scale enterprises must remunerate the employees' labor, regardless of the low salary which they pay them. Subcontracted small-scale enterprises who are registered with the chamber of commerce must pay their workers minimum wage, and register them with the social security. For this reason, factories often prefer subcontracting individual outworkers instead of small-scale enterprises when the price of the finished product is a major consideration. If the quality of the garment is more important, then small-scale enterprises may be preferred, even though it may require additional costs.

(1) Subcontracted Industrial Outworkers

- takes place in the workers' home
- do not hire additional non-family members
- often rely on female family members for assistance
- use only 1 machine

(2) Small-scale Enterprises (Family Based)

- takes place in workers' home
- seldom hire additional non-family members
- rely on family members (female usually) for assistance
- use more than 1 machine

(3) Small-scale Enterprises (Non-Familial)

- takes place outside workers' home
- usually hire additional non-family members
- use more than 3 machines
- may contract out to subcontracted industrial outworkers

Figure 4.2
Types of Subcontracted Units

The success with which subcontracted industrial outworkers convert their earnings into profit and their homes into small-scale enterprises depends on a variety of factors: (1) the capital which is available for purchase of raw materials, (2) number and type of machines which are owned, (3) previous experience or knowledge of the process of production (i.e. those who have additional skills such as designing, cutting, sewing of various articles, and ironing can negotiate a better rate for the items that they produce than can individuals with limited knowledge of the production process), (4) family members who work in the subcontracted enterprise for little or no

remuneration, and (5) access to a market to sell their own product (in addition to working subcontracted to the larger factories).

By far, the majority (over 70%) of home based workers only own one machine. However, several workers (those who were able to demand a higher price for their finished product) demonstrated a surprisingly advanced level of technification owning over 4 machines of various types. These individuals had left factory work when they had children, or the factory closed down because of decreased demand for the product. Because of their experience in the factory, these workers were more familiar with the entire production process, and more able to more effectively organize their own microenterprises than workers who had never worked in a factory.

With the development of subcontracted industrial outwork the possibility of control of the complete production process by one individual decreases. In Pereira, for example, changes in the relationship between the subcontracted industrial outworkers and the intermediary which occurred with the industrial development of garments in the region have led to increasing subordination of these home-based producers and small-scale enterprises. Prior to regional industrialization, the relationship of the subcontracted industrial outworkers with the factory was more direct (as described briefly in Chapter Three). The subcontracted industrial outworkers commonly completed the entire garment. However, now the home-based producer more commonly controls only a part of the entire process.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the structure of production within the garment industry as it conditions women's labor force participation. Subcontracting was considered as it fragments and decentralizes production creating a hierarchy of better-paid, more secure jobs in the factory, which contrast with low-paying, home-based production. The linkages created by the process of subcontracting created and reproduced subordinate hierarchical social relationships in the garment industry. A discussion of the variety of linkages (intermediaries who obtain home-based workers for the factory who are external to factory, factory workers who serve as intermediaries, or no intermediaries) utilized to link subcontracted producers to different types of enterprises (subcontracted industrial outworkers, family small-scale enterprises, and non-familial, small-scale enterprises) emphasized the autonomy and/or subordination of the producer in relation to the larger capitalist factories.

The role of intermediaries, their characteristics, and the control which they exercise over subcontracted producers' access to, and control of, key resources was discussed. The description of relationships between the subcontracted factory and the large capitalist enterprise (demonstrated in the characteristics of intermediaries, prices paid for products, and access to and control of raw materials and markets), as well as the myriad of relationships described within the small subcontracted enterprises demonstrate the significance of subcontracting as a mechanism for reproduction of subordinate relationships within the garment industry. This chapter has demonstrated

how changes in the structure of production at the regional and local level in the garment industry affect women's labor force incorporation. Because of the position which the subcontracted units occupy in the production process, women's incorporation into subcontracted industrial outwork is generally subordinated to factory work.

The process of subcontracting, though not new in the garment industry, is undergoing transformations. These transformations involve the more efficient appropriation of labor, decreasing home-based worker's control of the production process. The changing nature of the linkages between the factory and home-based work within the garment industry, and the differing strategies of national and international industrialists to appropriate labor in Pereira, should not be viewed as unique cases, but rather should be understood as examples of a more generalized practice resulting from ever-increasing demands for cheaper labor by national and international capitalists.

The next chapter considers the organization of production within a shirt factory. Working conditions in the factory are discussed, emphasizing mechanisms of control exercised by management, and strategies for organization and resistance to management's control by workers. This chapter emphasizes how changes in the organization of production have affected working conditions and women's labor force incorporation in this industry.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROFILE OF LIFE IN THE GARMENT FACTORY

Introduction

The strongest phrase that I have heard in my life is from a young girl who told me, "Working in the factory is worse than working as a prostitute.". . . this is another type of exploitation, that one has to produce so much, and one has to work rapidly, very rapidly, and one has to be perfect. . . they earn less working in the factory than working in the bar. . . After making the effort to learn a skill, the women find this type of exploitation.

Interview with Sister Elena who runs a workshop teaching women to sew.

This chapter considers the material conditions of production in the garment industry emphasizing the organization of production, and technology and machinery utilized in a factory which produces for export. The chapter begins with a description of the technical organization of production in the shirt making industry. A description of working conditions is provided by excerpts from worker interviews. Next, working conditions in the factory are discussed, emphasizing mechanisms of control exercised by management over the workers. Strategies for organization and resistance to management's control follow. The chapter ends with a discussion of how changes in the organization of the production process in the factory have affected the working conditions, focusing on the effect of

changes in the material conditions of production on the social relations within the factory.

Material Relations of Production within the Factory

Work in the large factory is divided into what are called "talleres" or workshops which vary from 30 to 70 people. Each workshop is responsible for a specific type of garment (shirt, slacks, skirts, etc.) Because Pereira is best known as the shirt city (*la ciudad camiseria*), this description focuses on the factory system for making shirts. Within the workshop, a "patinador" first hands the assignment to the head of the workshop, who in turn divides the work among the quality control supervisors. In a large shirt-making "taller" there could be two or three supervisors. Each supervisor is responsible for two or three parts of the production process. Conflict between quality control supervisors and the heads of the workshop is described in the following interview with Maria, a quality control supervisor.

The head of the workshop is the one who rules in the "taller", but the supervisor is the one who works the most. The heads of the workshop only know about meeting production quotas. They are technologists. I had to organize the production in the group. . . and I earned less. I earned my bonuses according to the number of items we turned around. But the bonuses were never much, they were never more than 1,900 pesos weekly. The leader of the workshop earned all of the production merits. They are shameless. (Personal interview February 23, 1989).

In the shirt making process observed, there were six major parts to the production process. These parts are further broken down again into three or four separate activities within each workshop. There is a station at the

beginning of each "taller" where the pieces are ironed, and marked to be sure they were cut properly in Miami. For example, the shirt making process begins with the collar. The first operator takes the ironed halves and sews them shut. The next operator clips the points; the collar is checked for symmetry and turned rightside out. The article is then returned for pressing. Next, the collar is overstitched, making sure that both sides match. This process involves three operators and a woman to press the collar.

The next section is the back. First, an operator hems both sides. Another operator will match the sides and stitch them together. (That is if the back is in two pieces; often it comes in one piece.) Depending on the complexity of the item, two to five operators will complete the required darts, beltloops, or other ornamentation. Another operator will sew the sides together if required. Usually during this phase, another individual places the label on the back garment.

Next, an operator hems the front from right to left always. The pockets are hemmed by another operator, and sewn on the shirt by a third. Other darts are sewn in place by a fourth operator, the buttonholes are inserted by a fifth, and a sixth operator sews buttons on the garments. The next process is the sleeve. First the sleeve is fastened together by one operator. Another operator then attaches the sleeve to the armhole. If it is a short sleeve, it is hemmed by another individual. If it is a long-sleeved garment, the cuffs are first completed. For the cuffs, one individual sews the lining. Then the corners are clipped and sewn shut by another operator. The cuff is turned right side out, then pressed by the operator at the "taller" who does the ironing. Only after pressing is the overstitching applied. Finally the cuff is placed on the sleeve by yet another operator. The article is inspected, threads clipped, buttonholes checked for accuracy, etc. by another woman before the

article is considered completed. The articles are then inspected again by the quality supervisors, and another tag may be placed on the sleeve. The articles are pressed one final time (outside of the workshop). There is a section which does only ironing, and another section which packs the articles in plastic before they are ready to be exported.

Twenty five to 30 operators, one or two supervisors, and a "technologist" who controls the production are involved in the workshop described above which makes shirts. There is an average of one mechanic for every five "talleres" in the factory. "Talleres" which make pants are the most difficult according to most of the workers. These may require up to 60 operators for the different tasks.

Working Conditions of Women

Although working conditions in this factory (from here on referred to as Factory N) were much better than those conditions encountered in other factories (re: lighting, space for work, and ventilation), many violations of the Colombian labor code were discovered through worker interviews. Two of the major demands expressed by women in the interviews were (1) fulfillment of article 238 of Colombian labor code: allowing women with infants 30 minutes of lactation during the work day and (2) fulfillment of article 239 of the Colombian labor code allowing women 12 weeks of maternity leave. Article 237 of the Colombian labor code gives women the right to two to four weeks paid leave in the case of miscarriage. The reality of the factory, however, does not reflect the gains made by women in labor legislation.

My research assistant recounted the following story from one of her interviews:

One of the woman I interviewed became pregnant while she was working in the factory. She was the one who handed out the cloth, but it wasn't easy for her to be on her feet all day because of her health. So they changed her to the inspection section, but now, as punishment for becoming pregnant, they said that they were going to make her iron. She told her supervisor that she couldn't because she had bad legs, and she had asthma (she couldn't even iron in her home), but her supervisor told her that if she couldn't iron, then she couldn't work in the factory, and she would have to leave.

According to Colombian law, women are allowed 12 weeks leave for pregnancy. However, usually women who become pregnant in garment factories are fired directly or indirectly.

When I was in the factory, I knew women who had to sell their body at times to maintain their position. I know specifically of one case, a mechanic who got a young woman in the design section pregnant. He was married, and the factory arranged for him to be sent to the United States so that he wouldn't have to be responsible for the baby, because he was a good mechanic. . . The girl was later moved to the ironing section of the factory. Subsequently she resigned. I don't think that was done properly. So that his wife didn't find out, they sent him to the United States. (Personal Interview with Lucia, quality control supervisor).

In 1988 this factory won the governor's medal for the most earnings accrued in non-traditional (non coffee) exports in the fiscal year. However, a local women's group produced a pamphlet to observe November 28¹. which

¹On November 28, feminists commemorate a violent rape and murder of three sisters which occurred in the Dominican Republic in 1986, and denounce violence against women (see appendice 4 for a copy of the brochure).

accused the factory of serious violation of human rights. Instead of being awarded the medal for *exportation*, these women insisted, the factory should be awarded a medal for *exploitation*.

Mechanisms of Control in the Factory

Having described the material organization of production in the factory, we now move to a consideration of the ways in which this production is controlled by management. There are many mechanisms of control employed by management throughout the production process. A computerized sheet near the personnel manager's office shows which "talleres" are producing most, which are keeping up with their production quotas, and which are falling behind. Secondly, a blackboard at the end of the workshop charts the production that each workshop should be completing during the hour. Beside each hour is a light bulb. If the bulb is yellow, then the hourly production quotas are being met. If the lightbulb is red, then the hourly production quotas for that hour have not been met. This blackboard is filled in by a technologist who is constantly inspecting production in the 'workshop'. Technologists are men as well as women. In fact, there were more women technologists than men when I observed the production. Another point of control is the quality control card filled in by the supervisor for each worker. This card documents the article which the worker was producing, the quota of their production for the day, the number of articles produced, and how many of these articles were completed satisfactorily.

According to interviews with Lucia, a quality control supervisor:

Every day they give one a schedule with a list of your production quotas, and every afternoon they check your work. . . The supervisor reviews the work. . . and she is also generally the one who studies the time it takes to complete tasks. . .

I had to check the work of everyone in the workshops. I had to pass by each machine 2, 3, or 4 times to review the work of each operator. At the end in inspection they look to see if the work is going well, what flaws there are, etc. For example, if I have to check the work of one woman. . . many don't like to have their work returned. . . but if I don't return it to her it's a problem for me. I can't let anything bad pass . . . when work is done poorly it has to be fixed.

Perhaps the most significant mechanism of control is the time and motion studies. This measurement of time taken to perform each task is done by a technologist. A union leader in Risaralda called this measurement strategy a type of "slavery". He states:

From seven in the morning, they begin to take a type of count. The engineers call this time and motion studies, to find out how much each worker produces in an hour. It is a human chronometer. So if the person produces, or rather if they are able to complete the same production during the entire day, and during the entire week, then they are given a type of bonus as an incentive. . . However, this is something which sucks the life out of the women, it finishes them off both physically and mentally. . . It's not the same to produce at seven in the morning when one has the mind clear and rested as it is to produce in the afternoon hours when fatigue sets in. . . this is a type of slavery. (Personal Interview with male union official, May 25, 1989)

These points of control demonstrate the hierarchy which exists within the factory. In order to become a supervisor, one had to either enter the factory with very good recommendations (preferably from the SENA) or earn supervisory status through consistently exceeding production quotas. If an operator worked extremely well, she could first become a "supernumeraria" which did not increase her salary but which permitted her to be eligible for

nomination for a position as a quality control supervisor by a current supervisor, technologist, or workshop head.

Ana, a quality control supervisor, was directly hired into that position:

I went to factory X after separating from my husband, to ask for work. In factory X, I filled out the papers, they asked me what experience I had, and they interviewed me. I was 25 years old when I began to work. They asked me what I had studied after elementary school, what I currently did for a living, and according to the interview, they decided what work I would receive. According to my abilities, they told me that I would enter as a quality control supervisor. (personal interview November 1988)

However, Ana was soon disillusioned by her work in the factory. She began to demand that they pay her a fair salary. According to the Colombian labor code, the night shift is paid 1.35 percent of the pay of the day shifts, work on a Sunday is paid double, and work on a holiday is paid triple. Ana recounts the following story of her difficulty receiving proper remuneration for her work.

I understood these accounts, more or less. So I counted up my salary, and of course found out that they were robbing me quite a bit. Most recently I worked 10 months and earned 25 thousand pesos, including bonuses and extra hours. When I retired they gave me 33 thousand pesos. This is really very little for all that I worked, and all that I contributed to the workshop. One of the reasons I retired is because they began a night shift from 2:30 in the afternoon till 10:45 at night, and they did not recognize the extra pay for working the night shift. My ex-husband worked in administration, and he taught me all these things. He told me they were robbing me. Once I worked two night shifts, and they paid us so bad that we didn't even earn 8,000 pesos for the week. The night shift should pay something like 35% extra. I added up the accounts, so many days, so many extra hours, and so many nights, and I told the girls who worked for me that they should claim their proper pay. I told them that if they were asked who added up the accounts, it was me, because I wanted them to fire me. But the girls appreciated the work I did, and no one told

them that I had added up the accounts and told them to claim their pay. So they fired all of those who went to claim their pay. They paid them what they were due, but they fired them all. They were fired for claiming 20 thousand pesos in one month.

Ana eventually retired from the factory. She was a good worker valued highly by the factory. She commanded the respect of co-workers and maintained production quotas.

However, the main reason for my retiring was because my child was extremely sick. One day I went to organize the work in the factory to resolve the production problems. The quality control supervisor has to organize the workers, the operations, etc. Then I said to the personnel director that I needed her to do me a favor and grant me permission to take my child to the doctor. . . I thought that they would give me permission. I was sure of it. I never skipped work. But she told me no, I am sorry, but I can't give you permission. We have to finish this lot. But I told her that we were ahead on production, that there were two other supervisors, but the lot was a very large one, and pants which are more difficult. So I had to make sure that everything was going well. She told me that I couldn't go. . . I started to think, I don't earn much, I don't really have any responsibility, I haven't done anything to earn this poor treatment. I am not going to return because they exploit you very badly (personal interview October 1988)...

In addition to inadequate payment for work, many operators complained about the type of contracts which they signed. Workers were required, by law, to give 30 days notice before quitting their job. These 30 days, however, were seldom paid by the factory. In another interview with Ana, she recounted several claims made in the factory for the type of contracts which were signed.

In the beginning, they hired the personnel in January and they stayed until December. However, later they made one sign a paper giving one leave, and they didn't pay you anything. In other words, I would sign the paper, as if I had asked for time off without pay. Of course because of this we made a claim at the Ministry of Labor. But everything was done legally. And after

this, they began to have the workers who had signed contracts for a year or more, sign new contracts for a specific article of clothing. When a lot arrived, everyone had to sign the new contract. Those who didn't want to sign it were fired. This contract cancelled the previous contract that they had signed. But this was illegal, because the contracts for more than one year cannot be annulled. In other words, if the lot took eight days to complete, one had work for eight days (personal interview October 1988).

After hearing several similar complaints from workers during interviews, Ana and I went to the Ministry of Labor to see how the cases brought by the workers against the factory were being handled. It had been several months since Ana had quit and the workers had heard nothing about the cases. When we arrived at the Ministry of Labor we were received by a woman who sent us to another set of lawyers who were working on the case. We waited over 30 minutes in the hall for these lawyers to return from a case, and when they didn't we were sent to another room to speak with their assistants. After waiting another 20 minutes, we were received by an assistant. However, they had not received any complaints from the specific factory in question. They related problems with garment factories (with only local capital), but they had heard nothing of the case to which we referred. We continued waiting for the other lawyers. Ana remembered the name of the woman (Ministry of Labor employee) who had been at the factory. However, when the woman returned, she was unable to give us any information about this case. There was nothing we could do. Since the factory had no union, there was no one to continue the investigation of the case and pressure the Labor Ministry to make some changes in the factory.

And another thing... if one wanted to quit working in the factory, for any reason, they immediately ended the contract that one had signed, and the 30 days which they had been advised weren't paid. . . I'm telling you that these contracts for only one

article are very weak. Where one would follow up on these contracts one would find things are not good...

Forms of Resistance within the Garment Industry and Factory N

Given the number of complaints expressed in worker interviews, surprisingly little organization was found within the garment industry. A brief review of the stormy relationship between management and unions provide clues to the contemporary phobia towards unionization by both workers and management.

In Risaralda, there has been permanent harrassment of union members by factory owners. Harrassment which has consisted in sanctions, generally unjust: such as firing. Often women who occupy directive positions in the union organizations are tempted (by the company) to occupy positions within administration, for example, positions such as head of personnel. This is generally done in order to make them denounce the union, in order to weaken it and finally end it. This occurred in two factories in this region. In Factory F, they weakened the union to such a point that at the end, they called the few women who still belonged to the union, and paid them off with promises that they would give them a certain amount of money if they renounced both the union and the factory. . . This has been a very difficult struggle. The factory owners have been able to eliminate unions. Factory V still has a union, but for all intents and purposes, Factory V is controlled by Factory N. (interview with male union official May 1989)

In order to weaken the unions, the owners of the garment factories attempted to pay off the workers.

They began to fire workers, and pay them off. . . because the law states that if a worker is fired without a just cause, they must be paid a specific amount of money, which consists of 45 days pay if they have been there one year or less, if they have been employed in the factory five years, they pay them 15 additional days, if they have been in the factory from five to 10 years, they

pay them an additional 20 days (in addition to the 45 days), and if they have more than 10 years with the factory, they pay them an additional 30 days. Then, the factory must spend a lot of money in this, but they get rid of the leaders, of the dynamic individuals in the unions. Then, when they have weakened the union, they buy off the directors and the union is wiped out. This is a tactic which they have used in the last few years. This has made it almost impossible to organize people. (Interview with male union official May 1989).

Although there was one union in all of the garment factories in the region, this union had been very "patronal". In other words, the union had not been independent of management, but rather complied with management's orders. For example, in 1983 the workers' vacation time was denied to allow the factory to meet production deadlines. The workers' were not reimbursed, nor were they given vacation at a later date. The union did not fight for the workers' additional pay, nor their vacation time. Rather they complied with the desires of management, in order to keep the factory running smoothly. Only in the last three years had the union in this factory changed the president, and in 1987 they affiliated with the CUT (making them less patronal). The CUT for example, prohibited any union officials from taking higher wages, or new positions offered by the management because this had traditionally been a strategy of management to "buy off" the workers.

Unions had played a crucial role at one point, in defending garment workers in the region. In an interview with the local president of the CUT, he told how the workers of factory G resisted managements attempts to remove the factory and its machinery. According to union officials in the town, factory N discussed above was constructed on the same site as factory G, using the same buildings with the same stock holders.

During this time (the 1970s) the owner of the factory was killed in some family feud. This had repercussions for the workers. Those who managed the factory intended to remove the

enterprise overnight. They had contracted vehicles to transport the machinery to Medellin, but we (the union) took over the enterprise overnight. A night watchman told us of their plans. We took over the enterprise and set up a tent, and maintained the struggle for approximately five months. We were about 77 workers. After we took over the enterprise, there we also cooked our food. There is a supermarket there now. We demanded the machinery from the factory, because the factory didn't even have five cents and had quite a few debts. We took this to a lawyer and this claim has lasted over five years.² (Interview with union official).

The conflictive relationship between workers and management in the region has led to a distrust of union organization not only by management, but also by other workers.

In general, the workers who have been able to obtain work again don't want to hear about unions because this has brought them many problems. Those who have been able to locate new jobs are quiescent in these positions. It is practically a policy of terror utilized by the management to control workers. . . Here in garments, then, it has been almost impossible to organize a union because of the problem of persecution. The "patron" with the same system of the black list, where all are included, begins to marginalize all those who had participated in the union movement. . . the struggle here has been very difficult (interview with male union official, May 1988).

Factories unable to pay the workers' salaries, and not being able to pay the indemnification required by law, dismantle the factory from one day to the next.

The struggle in factory F was difficult because management had been able to weaken the organization by firing individuals who were especially charismatic in the union movement. In December of 1974, Factory F sent everyone home for Christmas vacations and they told them to return on a certain date in January. Then, when the women returned on the determined date, after having enjoyed their vacations at the end of the year, they found the factory closed and all alone. There was no

² At the time of the interview the case had not been settled.

machinery or anything. Everything had been moved. Then, they found some notes that had been left with the guard for each one of them, telling them that if they wanted to work, they should go to a certain address in the Belen sector of Medellin, that the factory had been transferred there. Imagine that! a mother with a family, how is she going to move to Medellin. Nevertheless, there was an investigation with regard to this, and there was no factory at the address they had been given. All of this was a farce. The factory had fooled them. The workers wanted to demand their pay, but there was nothing. This has remained in the air. The women lost everything. . .

There have been other factories, enterprise Q, where 30 workers had problems with the factory in 1980 and it disappeared... and many small factories. The only thing for certain is that the tradition here is to trick the worker. Especially in the small enterprises...although it also happens in the large ones.

This has been the reality of the garment sector here. (Interview with CUT official May 1989)

Aside from these tactics utilized to weaken unions within the garment factories, the decentralization of production further prevented the formation of unions.

. . . there were three factories with different names, in different sites, where not more than 20 or 22 people were employed. This was done in order to keep the factory from having the minimum number required by the law for the founding a union. While in appearance this produced a type of disintegration of the factory, what really exists is only one factory, but in different locations. This prevents the workers from organizing. This is another tactic which the factory owners have utilized lately, to prevent union formation. (union official May 1989).

A specific example cited by Ana, the quality control supervisor for Factory N, demonstrates how the owners continue to discourage worker organization.

I attempted to start a union when I had this little group of women. In order to unionize you need 30 or at least 25 persons according to the law. But in the factory they rotate

the people considerably and it is difficult to form groups. For example, if you are the leader of this workshop, and I work in quality, within two months, I don't work here any more, but rather I am sent to another workshop. So I am sent to another workshop continually. . . it is difficult to really know the women you work with well when they are continually changing the workshops. (Interview # 8)

Changes in Organization of Production in Factory N

Increasing competition in the marketing of garments in both the national and international markets has led to changes in the organization of production. According to Lucia, a quality control supervisor:

There are many changes occurring in the process of production, the style produced, even the personnel are being constantly changed. For example, each day new people come from the United States and other places, and they teach us that this shouldn't be done in such a way, that the production has to be changed, that it's not accepted in the old way...

In addition to changing the organization of production within the factory, the quality of the final product, and the speed with which it is completed continue to be modified.

Another worker stated her reaction to increased production pressures:

I don't like all this pressure. There is always someone on top of you saying "hurry up." But I know what I have to do. One should be allowed to work according to one's conscience. One knows that a certain job must be finished by a specific time, and they know that you know this, but they still bother you continually about this saying "What's happening, What are you doing? We have to turn over this job at a specific time". Even when they know that the work will be finished on time.

If one doesn't finish the job. . . What happened? Sometimes it is a very difficult operation, or the machine is damaged, or the cloth is bad or cut wrong in Florida, or the girl who is working

on the other section isn't able to meet her quotas. All of this affects one's work. Every day they pressure us more. . .

In addition to increased pressure to produce, the women mentioned changes in the organization of the material for production.

Before, when I first started work (10 years ago) all production was done in a series. One person, for example hemmed and cuffed sleeves for the blouse production for the entire factory, another placed the collar, and another assembled the blouse. But now there is one workshop which does the blouse. Of course, now there is much better quality.

The aforementioned changes in the organization of production facilitate the addition of new workshops to meet fluctuating production demands, as well as increasing management's control of the quality of production.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the material conditions of production in the garment industry emphasizing the organization of production in workshops as opposed to working in series. A description of the technical organization of production in the shirt making industry followed, demonstrating how industrial capitalism breaks down the process of production into numerous parts, each of which requiring a different skill, though not generally highly specialized. A description of working conditions was provided through excerpts from worker interviews. Mechanisms of control exercised by management over the workers described strategic points of conflict between operators and supervisors, and supervisors and technologists or workshop leaders. Strategies for organization and resistance to management's control were considered through the description of union activities in the region. Finally, changes in the organization of the

production process in the factory were discussed as they affect the working conditions of the employees, focusing on the impact of changes in the material conditions of production on the social relations within the factory.

CHAPTER SIX HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Introduction

"La vida es una lucha, tiene uno sus momentos
buenos y malos...de todas maneras hay que
luchar por los hijos..."

Rosa, obrera en fábrica de confecciones

"Life is a struggle, one has good moments, and
bad moments... anyway, one has to struggle
because of the children..."

Rosa, factory worker, garment factory

These words of Rosa typify the daily living conditions of the garment factory workers in Pereira. Working in garment factories since she was 17 years old, 40 year old Rosa is the major income provider for her 3 children and 67 year old mother. She began working in a small shop in the back room of her neighbor's house. When this small-scale enterprise was forced to shut down due to fluctuations in the seasonal demand for labor, she was lucky enough to find employment in a small factory. This small factory unfortunately also closed down after less than a year, and she was once again unemployed. During the season of high demand (October-December)¹, Rosa once again found employment in a medium sized factory. She quit this job when she got married and had two children. However, after their second child, their economic situation required an additional income, and Rosa

¹October-December is the season of highest demand, as factories prepare for the large demand generated by the holiday gift-giving at Christmas.

returned to work. After her third child her husband left and she never heard from him again. At this point she went to live with her mother who cared for the children while Rosa continued to work in the factory. Recently the family also took on several renters to help with the monthly bills.

Rosa is not alone in her movement in and out of the garment industrial labor force. From her case, one can clearly see how the domestic cycle and household composition interact with the structure of the regional labor force and the seasonal demand for workers by the factory to shape women's labor force participation.

The household of the urban worker does not operate in isolation, nor is it a passive recipient of exterior forces and pressures. Placement of the household in the socio-economic structure of the region is essential to understanding the material limitations within which they operate.

While the internal dynamics of household units are important in determining their standard of living at any given moment, the household's position within the social structure is decisive. . . . In short, the particular characteristics of labor-market structure are a primary determinant of the potential for income generation of households with varying demographic characteristics. . . (Schmink 1984, p.88).

External political and economic conditions, part of the structural framework within which the households function, influence the organization and economy of the households. The pressures external to the household such as the demands of the labor market were considered in chapters three and four, to the extent that they determine the possibilities for women's employment. This chapter focuses on the internal dynamics of the household.

In order to analyze major variables at the level of the household and how they pattern women's labor force incorporation, this chapter contrasts

the characteristics of subcontracted industrial outworkers with those of factory workers. However, we must recognize that the participation of the female worker in the production process is only one aspect of the broader struggle of households to ensure their social reproduction. Other household members may participate in a variety of occupations. In fact, often, one or more household members may retain one or more jobs to ensure that the household can meet their economic needs. However the household's ability to meet their economic needs is only one part of their social reproduction. As discussed earlier, social reproduction of the household requires the labor of women in activities such as child care, cooking and cleaning.

This chapter concentrates on the participation of the garment worker in the industrial process, considering both the life cycle of the woman, and the domestic cycle of the household as internal forces of the household. This discussion begins with an analysis of the household and its theoretical and methodological importance for this study. It is hypothesized that women's position in the household (which frequently changes during the domestic cycle) is a significant factor affecting their labor force incorporation.

The hypothesis that women's position in the household affects her labor force incorporation is then applied to the data gathered in Pereira, Risaralda with garment workers. The stages of the domestic cycle were defined according to the age of the household head, ages of children, and number of individuals who had left the household. These stages were examined as a potential indicator of women's participation in the labor force. During certain phases of the domestic cycle, the household expands by incorporating more workers or consumers. This expansion may add or relieve women's pressure to enter the labor force. The incorporation of workers or consumers is studied in more depth later on in the chapter.

The concept "household" refers to the group of people who live under the same roof, organize their resources collectively, and share responsibilities for generating an income to meet the consumption needs of the group (Schmink 1984). Variables in the women's life cycle which may affect women's labor force incorporation include: age, marital status, and number and age of children. This research hypothesizes that older women who are married will be more likely to work at home. In addition it is hypothesized that subcontracted industrial outworkers will have more children because having children at a younger age limits their possibilities for employment in the factory. Significant variables of the domestic cycle of the household include: woman's household position, family structure, age of household head, and presence of young children in the family.

It is hypothesized that women who are spouses are more likely to be home-based workers than women who are household heads. Because of the lower salary of home-based workers, it is anticipated that these individuals will require the additional support of a major income generator to support the household's basic needs. Further, it is hypothesized that factory workers will more frequently be members of female headed households because of the reliance of these households on women's wages. And finally, it is anticipated that the domestic cycle of the household (as defined and operationalized in the following section) generates internal pressures (both economic and ideological) which further affect the women's labor force incorporation.

Domestic Cycle

Chayanov's (1966) description of the domestic cycle of the household emphasises the ratio of workers to consumers as providing a material basis for analyzing the household's social reproduction. He states:

Family composition primarily defines the upper and lower limits of the volume of its economic activity. The labor force...is entirely determined by the availability of able-bodied family members. That is why the highest possible limit for volume of activity depends on the amount of work this labor force can give with maximum utilization and intensity. In the same way the lowest volume is determined by the sum of material benefits absolutely essential for the family's mere existence.

... it is essential, therefore, to study the labor family as fully as possible and to establish the elements in its composition, on which basis it develops its economic activity... (Chayanov, 1966 p.118).

Mercedes Gonzalez de la Rocha (1984) has combined the analysis of Fortes with that of Chayanov. Her description of the phases of the domestic cycle is employed in the present analysis:

1) The expansion phase includes the period when the household grows and increases with the number of births. This phase begins when the couple forms and ends approximately when the woman reaches 40 years of age, ending her fertile years. While this phase advances, the conditions for the following phase are created: the children grow and the household is consolidated.

2) The phase of consolidation and equilibrium is characterized by a more balanced ratio of workers to consumers. In this phase, the children, or at least

some children are ready to work and contribute to the maintenance of the household.

3) The dispersion phase begins when members of the household begin to separate themselves from the group of origin to form and organize new units. Even though households in this phase generally demonstrate a lower worker to consumer ratio, economic equilibrium may still be maintained through fewer dependents in the form of young children.

Recent studies emphasize economic and socio-demographic changes occurring during the domestic cycle of households (Orlandina de Oliveira, et. al. 1989, Safa 1990). Following this framework, this study operationalizes the domestic cycle by socio-demographic and economic variables. For the first phase, the expansion phase, variables chosen to indicate formation of the household include: age of children (pre-school, and school age from 6 to 12), and age of household head (under 40) . The second phase, the consolidation phase, was defined by childrens' leaving school and beginning to work (after age 12), and the age of the household head (both men and women 40 and over, for women this is the end of their fertile years). The third phase, dispersion, considers (1) children's leaving the home and setting up their own households, measured by asking how many children had left the home for marriage or migration to look for work, and (2) a household head over 60 years old.

Expansion Phase
Household head under 40
Children under 12

Consolidation Phase
Household head 40-59
Children over 12

Dispersion Phase
Household head over 60
One or more children have left household
to establish their own residences

Figure 6.1
Phases of the Domestic Cycle

Economic implications of the domestic cycle are complex. A household in the phase of expansion is an unbalanced unit in economic terms because there are more consumers than workers. The household in expansion is under greater economic pressure than a household in the phase of consolidation. A household in the phase of consolidation experiences greater equilibrium between income generators and consumers. The household in the dispersion phase is subject to economic inequalities because economically active individuals leave the older parents, now economically inactive or earning a much lower salary. However, the absence of young children, also decreases their expenses. Depending on the economic needs of the household of origin, these departing individuals may continue to send remittances. Therefore the ratio of workers to consumers in a household does not always reflect its economic condition; some workers who support the household may not live in the same physical unit. This study demonstrated this condition in only three cases.

The fact that households have collective economic needs in no way implies that there are no internal conflicts. In spite of the fact that there are common needs, specific gender and age interests seldom result in harmonious agreements on household priorities and activities. For this reason it is important to understand how the internal relationships of households influence the activities of individual household members as they pass through the domestic cycle. Important internal changes in household structure resulting from the domestic cycle cause many changes in the structure, organization, and economy of this unit.

Nevertheless, the domestic cycle is not a linear, inflexible process. A household which begins its cycle does not necessarily follow it through all of its phases. There are premature break-ups and other modifiers which transform the household. In the factory workers' households, many have their domestic cycle interrupted due to separation or death of household head(s). A male-headed nuclear family, then, may become a female-headed nuclear or extended family. This leads to changes in the structure of the household with the women generally assuming the position of household head, if there is no male child of working age.

One modification of the domestic cycle of the household involves the incorporation of new family members through the marriage of adult children who live in the parents' home. This is most typical of male headed households. In this way, the household may gain a worker while at the same time helping the new couple to ease into the first phases of the domestic cycle. This demonstrates how two different phases of a domestic cycle become fused in one household. In theory, the son or daughter who gets married begins a phase of expansion. However, while staying in the house of origin, only the

biological phase of expansion is developed. The economic situation of the new couple may fuse with the economic situation of the older couple.

The labor market demand interacts with the household supply of workers to affect women's labor force incorporation. As previously mentioned the supply of workers is affected by household factors such as women's position in the household, and ages and number of children as well as women's life cycle factors of age and marital status. Labor force incorporation may, in turn, affect the domestic cycle of the households. As more jobs become available for younger, single, women, it is logical to expect daughters to assume a more prominent role in income generation of the households. This age-specific (and marital status-specific) concentration of women in an industry where new workers can easily be trained means that, under conditions of high unemployment, women are absorbed and then rejected at different stages of their life cycle, and during different phases of the domestic cycle of the household. However, it must be noted that this age-specific concentration of women was found only in the multinational factories. The factory with solely national capital was less selective in their recruitment of workers (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2); a higher percentage of workers in the factory were separated or divorced compared to the multinational factory.

Table 6.1

Age of Workers by Workplace

Age	Home	Workplace	
		Factory Domestic	Multinational
Less than 20	0	0	3%
20-29	11%	34%	30%
30-39	40%	45%	50%
40-49	37%	14%	15%
50-59	11%	6%	2%
Total	100% (35)	100% (35)	100% (40)

Table 6.2

Marital Status by Workplace

Marital Status	Home	Workplace	
		Factory Domestic	Multinational
Single	26%	33%	57%
Married	40%	32%	34%
Free Union	23%	5%	6%
Separated or Divorced	8%	18%	0
Widow	3%	12%	3%
Total	100% (35)	100% (40)	100% (35)

The term "structure of the household" refers to the gender and age of the household head, as well as to the relationship of this individual (or individuals - there may be more than one household head) to other members of the household (i.e., spouse, mother, sister, grandmother, aunt, etc.). The household head is defined according to the response of the worker interviewed to the question "Who is the head of the household". "Composition of the household" refers to the number of individuals (children, parents, grandparents, etc.) who are members of the household. Economic contribution refers to the degree to which individuals contribute to household maintenance through wage-labor, or some other type of informal income generating activity. The structure and composition of the households and the economic contribution of individuals within the household to the household budget, are not fixed but rather change during the household's cycles from its expansion to consolidation. However as will be discussed later, (especially in the case of female-headed households) many households are unable to reach the level of economic stability necessary to allow the women to leave the wage labor force to return to their home to focus on domestic activities.

In Colombia, fragmentation of the labor process has led to differential employment of women at different stages of their life cycle. In the phase of household expansion, there are usually two major income generators: the head of the household (male or female) and the spouse. The women need to earn an income (for food, clothing, rent, education, etc.) but also must care for the children, cook, clean etc. (care for the reproductive needs of the household). The situation may change when the household enters the consolidation phase. Gonzalez de la Rocha (1989) hypothesizes that during this phase, the women workers who are also household heads generally

decrease their labor force participation because much of the economic responsibility during this time falls on the children.

Life Cycle Variables of Women

In order to investigate the hypothesis that women's life cycle plays a crucial role in their labor force participation, I considered the marital status of women in three different work contexts (Table 6.2). Three different categories of women's labor force incorporation, factory workers (both domestic and multinational) and subcontracted industrial outworkers are considered in order to analyze the impact of the life cycle variables on labor force incorporation considering workplace as the dependent variable. It is hypothesized that married, older women are more likely to be subcontracted industrial outworkers, especially if they marry at a younger age. Workers in the factory with multinational capital (57%) are more frequently single while those in the factory with domestic capital are distributed fairly evenly between the category of single and married. Children are hypothesized to constrain women's participation in the labor force for both material and emotional reasons. While someone is needed to take care of the child, the women also frequently expressed a desire to be near their children, even if the child care tasks were performed by their mother or sister.

Although the difference in marital status between the two groups of workers (factory and subcontracted industrial outworkers) is not statistically significant, it does demonstrate a trend for factory women to be single while subcontracted industrial outworkers are more frequently married. Factory workers also are generally younger (Table 6.1). Age is a statistically significant variable affecting women's labor force participation. However, we must

realize that the small size of the sample renders the results of the tests for statistical significance less reliable.

Over fifty percent of female factory workers in the multinational factory were single, compared with twenty six percent of subcontracted industrial outworkers. This is not only a function of the life cycle of the women, but also reflects the recruitment strategies of factories. Marital status and age of potential workers (factors which also change throughout the domestic cycle of the household) not only affect the supply of workers but are also key determinants of the demand for workers reflected in factory hiring preferences. Subcontracted industrial outworkers more frequently are older (Table 6.1) and married (Table 6.2) while factory workers are younger and more often single. The mean age of subcontracted industrial outworkers is 39 while that of factory workers is 32 (significant at the .0005 level).

Number of children in the household is also a significant factor affecting women's labor force participation. As shown in Figure 6.2, 32 percent of the subcontracted industrial outworkers had one child or less, while 62 percent of the factory workers had one child or less. Only 9 percent of subcontracted industrial outworkers had no children, while the percentage of factory workers with no children was much higher (33 percent). This may be explained in part by the higher percentage of young, single women in the factory. In this sample, the subcontracted industrial outworkers' households have a larger number of children (most of whom are old enough to work) than the households of factory workers. Seventeen percent of the subcontracted industrial outworkers had three children while only 11 percent of the factory workers did, and 22 percent of the subcontracted industrial outworkers had four or more children, while only seven percent of the factory workers fell into this category. The trend demonstrated by observing

the number of children in the family of these workers suggests that women who work in factories have fewer children available to assume economic responsibilities.

In addition, a large number of children may hinder working in the factory, and, if no other form of childcare is available, women are forced to work at home. One cannot determine, from this sample, whether factory work influences women's decision on whether to have a child, and the number of children to have, or whether the selective recruitment strategies of the factory lead to preferential hiring of women without children. *In the multinational factory, female applicants were given a blood test, and those who were pregnant were not contracted. Those workers who had children while employed by the multinational factory were often fired when it was learned that they were pregnant. This practice obviously discourages factory workers from having children.*

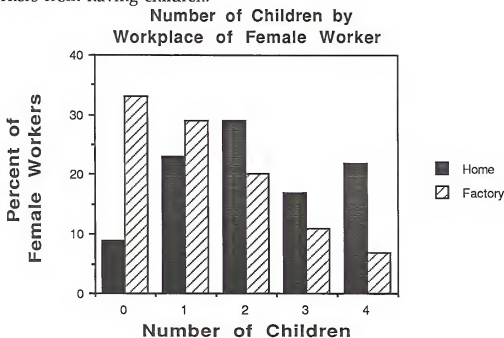


Figure 6.2

Number of Children by Workplace

In addition to number of children, the age of the children is a significant factor to be considered in an analysis of the impact of the domestic cycle on women's labor force incorporation. Although the age differences of the workers are reflected in the ages of their children, not all women have children at the same age, therefore, a consideration of the ages of their children is useful in analyzing the impact of the domestic cycle on women's labor force incorporation. Eighty three percent of the subcontracted industrial outworkers have no children under 6 years of age compared to 70% of factory workers. Having young children, therefore, appears to be a significant constraint to working in either setting. However, this constraint is greater in factory work that requires leaving the home (Figure 6.2). Forty two percent of women workers (both factory and subcontracted outworkers) stated that child care prevents (or prevented at some point in the past) them from assuming factory work. However, many households utilize the labor of other female members to care for the children while the mother leaves the household to work. Table 6.3 demonstrates the range of female relatives available to assume child care activities for both factory and home-based workers. Factory workers have a wider range of options while home-based workers more often care for children themselves.

This section has demonstrated that factory workers are more likely to be young and single. Subcontracted industrial outworkers are more frequently married and older. The subcontracted industrial outworkers began to have children at an earlier age, and they have fewer household members to help with child care. Subcontracted workers are generally older, and more frequently married. The older age of the subcontracted workers may be responsible for their younger age at birth of their first child since age at birth of first child has been declining. Few women in either category currently

have children under 6. Child care may, therefore, be a major factor constraining their labor force participation.

Table 6.3

Type of Childcare by Workplace

Child Care Practices	Workplace	
	Home	Factory
She cares for them herself	33%	0%
Her mother	16%	23%
Her sister	16%	23%
An older child	16%	9%
Grandmother	0%	14%
Friend	0%	4%
Employee	16%	9%
Nursery	0%	9%
Other Female relative	0%	9%
Total	100% (6)	100% (22)

(Chi Square = 10.34; DF=8, Probability = .24 Not Significant at .05 level.)

Household Variables

To investigate the hypothesis that women's position within the household (in part a function of the domestic cycle) conditions their incorporation into the labor force, women's position within the household was compared by workplace. This classification demonstrates women's economic role in the household better than the classification of age and

marital status alone. For example, a single woman could be a daughter who is contributor to the household budget, but not a major provider, a daughter who is a major provider, or a single mother. This distinction cannot be made from the classification of marital status or age alone. Table 6.4 demonstrates a statistically significant difference (at the .035 level) between the women workers' economic position in the household according to the workplace.

Women who are the major income providers of the household are concentrated in factory positions. The economic pressures these factory workers experience to enter the labor force are considerable. Although subcontracted industrial outworkers, as well as factory workers, experience economic pressures to enter the work force, factory workers are more often major economic providers as the following table demonstrates.²

However, women do not always perceive factory work as more economically feasible. In addition to child care responsibilities and autonomy, several women who operate their own micro-enterprises, stated that they made more money working at home. As discussed in Chapter Four, a subcontracted industrial outworker's salary is generally considerably less than that of factory workers. Sometimes, however, home-based workers can use their knowledge and experience to their economic benefit.

²For a description of the employment of spouses and fathers, see appendix 3.

Table 6.4

Worker's Household Economic Position by Workplace

	Homeworkers	Factory
CONTRIBUTORS (Daughters, Spouses, others)	82%	32%
MAJOR ECONOMIC PROVIDERS (daughters with main household income, wives with unemployed spouses with and without children, women who live alone)	9%	23%
FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS (single mothers, widowed, divorced)	9%	45%
Total	100% (35)	100% (75)

(Chi-Square = 13.588, DF= 6, Prob = .035)

A women's position in the household, (regardless of her economic responsibilities) is significantly related to her labor force participation (Table 6.5). Although both daughters and single mothers predominate in the category of factory work, this may be for entirely different reasons. Because of the preference of the multinational factory (there is only one in the region) for young, single women, it is not surprising to find a high percentage of daughters in factory work. The high percentage of single mothers in factory work may be due to women's need for a greater stable consistent income. It

is not surprising to find the highest percentage of spouses and mothers (74%) in home-based work (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5

Position in the Household by Workplace of Female Worker

Workplace

Women's Position in the Household	Home	Factory
Spouse and Mother	74%	17%
Daughter	11%	36%
Single mother	11%	36%
Other (Aunt, Cousin)	3%	11%
Total	35 (100%)	75 (100%)

Because of the (generally) lower salary of home-based workers, their income must be supplemented by a second individual, generally the spouse. Single mothers contribute the highest amount to the household budget, averaging 61% (Table 6.6). Table 6.7 demonstrates that when contribution to household budget is compared by workplace, home-based workers contribute less to the budget than factory workers.

Table 6.6

Average Contribution to Household Budget
by Position in the Household

Women's Position in the Household	Average Contribution to Household Budget
Spouse and Mother	45%
Daughter	41%
Single mother	61%
Other (Aunt, Cousin)	38%

Table 6.7

Percent Contribution to Household Budget by Workplace

	Workplace	
	Home	Factory
Percentage Contribution to Budget		
0-35%	50%	37%
36-49%	21%	8%
50-70%	25%	31%
71-100%	4%	23%
Total	100% (32)	100% (73)

The structure of the household (extended or nuclear) also affects the economic equilibrium of the household to the extent that the ratio of

consumers to workers changes with family extension. If the additional members in the extended family are working and contribute to the household budget, it would be anticipated that pressure for women to join the workforce. However, female headed extended families were only slightly more likely than nuclear male headed families to be found in factory settings. Subcontracted industrial outworkers are slightly more likely to be part of male headed nuclear than either male or female extended families (Table 6.8). A larger percentage of factory worker households are female-headed (40 % as compared to 28%, see Table 6.8). Thus it appears that female headed households experience more pressure for women to join the labor force than male headed households.

In this research, 17 different household structures were found, these included the following types of nuclear households: complete nuclear families (one conjugal pair with children). The following types of extended households were present in the sample: nuclear families with one or more sets of parents of the conjugal pair, two complete nuclear families; two nuclear families, one complete, and one with no father; two nuclear families, neither had father; two nuclear families, one with no father, one complete with parents; two nuclear families, neither including the father, but both had parents, two nuclear families, one without mother, one without father but other family members; two nuclear families, one without father; and two nuclear families, one complete and one with no father, but other non-related individuals. Few women were workers who rented apartments and lived alone.

Table 6.8

Structure of Household by Workplace

Structure of Household	Home	Workplace of woman worker Factory
Female Headed	28%	40%
Male Headed		
Nuclear	40%	36%
Extended	32%	26%
Total	100% (35)	100% (75)

When considering the economic significance of extended versus nuclear families, we must also consider at what phases of the domestic cycle these households become extended, and why. Female-headed households most frequently are extended during the expansion phase of the domestic cycle. Male-headed households are more often extended during the consolidation phase, partially to receive married children (Table 6.8). In this way, households with different structures demonstrate different cyclical patterns.

If we separate female-headed households into nuclear and extended households, the pattern of household extension becomes clearer (Table 6.9). Female-headed households begin as extended households nucleating during the consolidation phase. This suggests that female-headed households begin more frequently as expanded households, in part because childcare and additional wage earners are available from other household members while the women go to work. As the children grow old enough to care for themselves, and enter the work force, female-headed households tend to

consolidate. Male-headed households on the other hand, begin nucleated and extend under the consolidation phase. This differential pattern of household expansion between male and female-headed households may be due to the nature of employment of other women in the household (other than the female worker). In male-headed households, women are more frequently subcontracted industrial outworkers (Table 6.9). The higher wages of men as compared to women explain, in part, why female-headed households are expanded earlier in the domestic cycle of the household. In addition, female-headed households tend to extend by incorporating workers while male-headed households tend to extend by incorporating consumers. This is seen by comparing the worker to consumer ratio by the household structure. In male-headed households, children may have a better chance of increasing their education and entering the labor force in a more advantageous position, since the economic pressures of these households during the consolidation phase are less.

Table 6.9

Type of Household	Household Extension by Domestic Cycle			
	Phase of Domestic Cycle			Total
	Expansion	Consolidation	Dispersion	
Nuclear Female	31 %	60 %	9%	100% (22)
Nuclear Male	37%	55 %	8 %	100% (40)
Extended Female	46 %	27 %	7 %	100% (15)
Extended Male	27 %	63%	10 %	100%(30)

The structure of the household is strongly related to women's contribution to the household budget (Table 6.10). Working women in female-headed households contribute a higher percentage towards the household budget, while female workers in nuclear male-headed households contribute a smaller proportion.

Table 6.10

Structure of Household by Percentage Women Workers Contribute to Budget				
Household Structure	Contribution to Budget			
	0 - 35%	36 - 49%	50 - 70%	71 - 100%
Female Headed	24 %	29%	28%	68%
Male Headed				
Nuclear	55%	43%	48%	16%
Extended	21%	29%	24%	16%
Total	100% (42)	100% (7)	100% (29)	100% (25)

The worker consumer ratio by workplace provides an indication of the economic pressures on the household. This was determined by taking the total number of individuals in the household (workers and consumers) and dividing it by the number of income earners. The more workers in the household, the higher the ratio. Table 6.11 demonstrates that the ratio of workers to consumers is greatest in the extended female-headed households and lower in the nuclear female-headed household category. Male-headed households demonstrate the reverse. In these households, the worker-to-

consumer ratio is higher among nuclear male-headed households than it is among extended male-headed households. Although this data is not statistically significant it suggests that female-headed households become extended by incorporating workers, whereas male-headed households more frequently incorporate consumers (which are most likely children) when they become extended.

Table 6.11

Worker-to-consumer Ratio by Household Structure	
	Worker-to-consumer Ratio Average
Female headed	
Nuclear	.45
Extended	.52
Male Headed	
Nuclear	.434
Extended	.333

To further explore the hypothesis that economic pressures of the household encourage women to assume better-paying factory jobs, let us consider the relationship of the major economic provider of the household to the female worker by the place in which the woman works. If economic pressures of the household do encourage women to assume better-paying jobs, then it would follow that women, in the household of factory workers are more often the principle economic providers. Female factory workers are likely to be the principal breadwinners, or daughters while subcontracted industrial outworkers are more often dependent on the spouse (Table 6.12).

Table 6.12

Major Economic Provider by Workplace			
	Home		Factory
Spouse		37%	12%
Self		37%	43%
Other		26%	45%
Total	100%	(35)	100% (75)

(Chisquare=17.718, DF =11, Prob .088)

The percentage which women contribute to the household budget reflects in part the economic pressures for women's labor force incorporation. The greater the economic pressures for women's labor force participation, the larger the percentage of the household budget women would be expected to contribute. If the economic pressure were less, then women would be expected to contribute less to the household budget. In the current study, a significant relationship between women's workplace and their contribution to the household budget was found. Subcontracted industrial outworkers contributed an average of 45 % while the average for factory workers was 65%.

In this sample per capita income did not differ significantly by workplace (Table 6.13). In fact, there is only a slight tendency for factory workers households to have a higher per capita income.³ Factory workers' households are more often female-headed (when compared to subcontracted industrial outworkers households Table 6.8). The lower than expected per

³However, because of the way in which data were gathered on income (i.e. in categories not as individual estimates), this measurement may not be exact.

capita income may reflect household extension in the case of the factory workers.

Table 6.13

Number of Households According to Bi-Weekly Per Capita Income
(in Colombian pesos) and Workplace

Bi - Weekly Income	Workplace	
	Home	Factory
1,000 - 4,999	6%	15%
5,000 - 9,999	46%	44%
10,000 - 14,999	31%	16%
15,000 - 19,999	9%	17%
20,000 - 24,999	9%	8%
Total	100% (35)	100% (75)

This section demonstrates that factory women are more likely to be either daughters, or single mothers, household heads and major economic providers. Subcontracted industrial outworkers are more likely to be spouses and mothers. Although economic pressures push more women to work in the factory, the households of both subcontracted industrial outworkers and factory workers experience economic pressures (as evidenced in the worker to consumer ratio). Further, female headed households tend to incorporate more workers into the household (as opposed to consumers), and make higher contributions to the household than women in male-headed households.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I considered the major variables of the women's life cycle and the domestic life cycle of the household as they affect women's labor force participation. Women's position in the household, as well as their age, marital status and ages of children were considered as significant variables of women's life cycle. Forty two percent of the women interviewed stated that they preferred to work at home because of their children, indicating that child care is a significant factor limiting women's labor force incorporation. However, child care was not a significant factor limiting women's labor force incorporation among factory workers at the time of the interviews (i.e. few women had children under six). Many mothers expressed the desire to be with their children, and to have some influence in their training, even if they were busy sewing.

While marital status was not statistically significant between the two groups, there was a tendency for single women to work in the factory while married women worked at home. Age was statistically significant. Factory workers were significantly younger than subcontracted industrial outworkers (average ages were 32 and 39 respectively). In the future, the age difference between factory workers (especially multinational factories) and subcontracted industrial outworkers will undoubtedly increase because of the policy of the multinational factories to hire women between 19 and 25 years of age.

The domestic cycle was found to be a significant factor affecting women's labor force participation. As women's position in the household changes with the domestic cycle, the economic and ideological pressures she

experiences to participate in the labor force also change. For example, although daughters may experience less economic pressure than women who are heads of households to participate in the labor force, they also experience less ideological constraints keeping them in the household. Women's contribution to the household budget was generally higher when she was household head indicating that female heads of households experience more pressure to participate in the labor force.

The structure of the household, male or female headed, and nuclear or extended affects women's labor force incorporation. Female-headed households and male-headed households pursue different strategies (regarding the incorporation of workers or consumers) when they become extended. Female-headed households in this sample tended to extend themselves more frequently by incorporating other workers (in part because the lower salary of women compared to men necessitates more income earners in the household when the major economic providers are women) whereas extending male-headed households more frequently incorporate consumers. Income per capita was found to be greatest during the consolidation (as opposed to expansion) phase although this was not statistically significant.

This chapter differentiates between the life cycle of the woman, and the life cycle of the household. Both play an important role in shaping women's entrance and exit from the labor force. Although these factors are related to changing economic pressures of the household unit, these economic pressures alone do not necessarily lead to the incorporation of women into the labor force, but may lead to the extension of the family to include other workers, though this is most often the case with female-headed households. The headship of the household is not directly correlated with the domestic

cycle, although there is a tendency for female-headed households to be concentrated in the consolidation phase. Households with different structures of headship demonstrate different strategies for responding to the economic pressures generated during the domestic cycle of the household. These pressures include the addition of consumers (young children during the phase of expansion), the introduction of other non-working family members, and the rising costs of living (food prices, education, money spent building home).

This analysis demonstrated that both subcontracted industrial outworkers and factory workers experience considerable economic pressure to generate an additional income. However, the subcontracted industrial outworkers experience less pressure due largely to : (1) the lower percentage of female heads of households among this group, and (2) the greater number of workers demonstrated by the larger worker-to-consumer ratio.

The next chapter considers changing authority patterns and women's role in household decision making as it is affected by the domestic cycle of the household, the women's life cycle, and women's incorporation into the labor force.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DECISION MAKING AND AUTHORITY PATTERNS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Introduction

La autoridad en la casa. . . los dos compartidos, los dos tienen puntos de autoridad.

Manuela (interview #139)

Authority in the household. . . we both share it, we both have specific areas of authority.

Manuela (interview #139)

The study of the domestic cycle in the previous chapter demonstrates that many socio-demographic and economic changes occur within the household during this process. Often these changes lead to contradictions and conflicts within the household. On the one hand, households generate solidarity relationships which facilitate economic organization based on multiple income-generating strategies. However changes occurring in the domestic cycle also foment conflict in relationships of domination and subordination in the workers' households. These power relationships express themselves in decisions made daily.

This chapter discusses Colombian data to explore the hypothesis that increasing women's income increases their authority (and their participation in decision making in the household). In this research, women's contribution to the budget is considered as an indicator of her economic

position within the household. Major variables utilized to analyze women's increasing authority in the household include: the woman worker's age, marital status, and her position in the household. It is hypothesized that older women have more authority in the household; married women have more authority in household decision making than single women; and that female workers who are members of female headed households exhibit more authority than women members of male headed households.

As Chapter Six demonstrated, subcontracted industrial outworkers households have different structures from the households of factory workers. This research further hypothesizes that these different household structures will lead to differing authority patterns. The households of subcontracted industrial outworkers are more frequently members of nuclear male headed families while factory workers households are more frequently female headed (Table 6.8). Ethnographic information from the interviews is provided to demonstrate that increasing women's income alone does not directly increase her authority within the household. Rather a combination of factors (including the women's age, her position within the household, her work experience, and educational level) contribute to the degree of authority which she exercises within the household.

Much research has shown that access to monetary income is an important basis for the development of relationships of power in the household (Bruce and Dwyer 1989; Roldan 1985; Safa 1990; Beneria and Roldan 1987; Safilios-Rothschild 1976). For this reason, an analysis of the access and control of income entering the household is a useful way of uncovering mechanisms which reproduce and/or modify relationships of domination and subordination.

However, household authority patterns cannot be reduced merely to access and control of monetary income. Many factors aside from gender and income (factors such as age and educational level) also affect power relationships within the household. The structure of the household (nuclear or extended), and male or female headship which influences women's labor force incorporation must also be considered in an analysis of authority patterns.

Household Authority Patterns

Workplace

When questioned about authority in the household, the majority of the home-based workers and factory workers said that they did not feel that having an income gave them any more power or authority within the household. Factory workers in general did not state that they had any more authority than subcontracted industrial outworkers. In fact, a larger percentage of home-based workers felt that they had more authority in the household than did factory workers (40 percent for home-based workers versus 25 percent for factory workers Figure 7.1). However, this may be due to the higher percentage of married women among home-based workers compared to factory workers.

Response to Question: "Do you feel that you have more authority in the household because you work?"

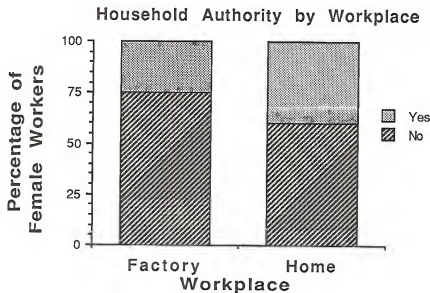


Figure 7.1

Women's Perception of Their Authority
in the Household by Their Workplace

Home ownership

Home ownership is hypothesized to be a significant variable which provides women and men with a basis for asserting their authority. As one informant stated "The house belongs to my parents, for this reason I am still under their authority." (Interview # 53). In this analysis, a consideration of home ownership by workplace and authority patterns reflects the difference in the household composition between workplaces. As discussed in Chapter 6, factory workers are more often younger, daughters, while home-based

workers are older, generally married. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the case of the home-based workers, the household was owned by a male household member, whereas in the case of the factory workers, the household was owned just as frequently by a male or by a female family member.

Table 7.1 demonstrates that there is a significant relationship between workplace and home ownership (at the .05 level). A much larger percentage of factory workers lived in households where another female family member was the owner of the household (3% for home-based workers versus 19% for factory workers), while a much higher percentage of home-based workers lived in homes owned by a male family member (43% for home-based workers versus 19 percent for factory workers). The largest percentage of factory workers rented their home (43 percent compared with 34 percent for home-based workers).

However, Table 7.2 demonstrates that home ownership does not necessarily give women more perceived authority in the household. Of those women who owned their home, less than 50% (6 out of 13) stated that they had more authority in the household, regardless of their workplace.

To further analyze how authority relationships are manifested and resolved in the households of the garment workers, let us consider the following results of factory worker interviews which discuss management of household economics through the budget.

Table 7.1

Home Ownership by Workplace

	Home	Factory
Rented	34 %	43%
Owned House		
Male family member	43%	19%
Female family member	3%	19%
Herself	14%	12%
Spouse	3%	4%
Both together	3%	4%
Total	100% (35)	100% (75)

Table 7.2

Home Ownership by Authority in the Household

Response to Question: "Do you feel you have more authority in the household because you work?"

	No	Yes	Total
Rented	77%	23%	100% (44)
Owned			
Male Family Member	62%	38%	100% (29)
Female Family Member	80%	20%	100% (15)
Herself	54%	46%	100% (13)
Spouse	100%	100%	(5)
Both Together	100%		100% (5)

Access and Control of Budget

In this section, control of the budget is considered to be a major mechanism leading to relationships of domination and subordination within the household. Major variables considered in this discussion of control of the household budget include: (1) who the workers stated was the main economic provider for the household; (2) what percentage of the budget these workers considered that they contributed to the household's income; (3) who controls the budget as stated by the workers; (4) patterns of decision making on major issues such as marketing, children's schooling and household labor

allocation, and (5) household authority patterns as expressed in the worker interviews.

As shown in Chapter Six, the main economic provider of the household varies depending on the workplace of the women. This relationship is statistically significantly at the .05 level. Table 7.3 demonstrates that while 37 percent of the subcontracted industrial outworkers workers cite their spouse or another male in the family as the main economic provider, only 12 percent of factory workers do.

Table 7.3

Major Economic Provider by Workplace

Economic Provider	Home	Factory
Spouse or other male	37 %	12%
Self	37 %	55%
Both	14 %	11%
Family	3 %	5%
Other	6%	17%
Total	100 % (35)	100% (75)

Thirty seven percent of the home-based workers said they were primarily responsible for the household income, compared to 55 percent of the factory workers. This data further supports the hypothesis that women are incorporated into the wage-labor force during phases of the domestic cycle when they experience economic pressure to generate an additional income; economic pressures leading to breaking of the cultural tradition which relegates women solely to household (domestic) chores.

A comparison of percentage of budget contributed by worker with control of the budget, reveals a positive relationship between what percentage of the budget the worker provides and her ability to administer it (Table 7.4). Table 7.4 and Table 7.5 demonstrate that percent contributed to the household budget is statistically significant in determining household authority at the .05 level. Women who contribute more to the household budget state that their increased income positively affects their position of authority within the household.

When testing the response to the question, "Do you feel that you have more authority in the household because of your work?" against the age, educational level of the worker, position of the worker in the household and contribution to the household budget, the only statistically significant factor (at the .05 level) was contribution to the household budget.

When testing authority patterns against workplace and controlling for women's position within the household, female factory workers who were single mothers and household heads consistently felt that they had more authority in the household because of their work. These households also had fewer male members, indicating that it is more common for women workers to have authority over other women than other men. This indicates that there are several factors interacting in the determination of authority patterns in the household, not only women's income generation, but also her position within the household.

Table 7.4

Budget Control by Percent of Budget Contributed				
Percent of Budget Contributed by Women				
Who controls Budget	Less than 35	36 to 50	51 to 75	76 to 100
Spouse	16%	0	0	8%
Self	23%	36%	52%	72%
Mother	19%	27%	17%	12%
Sister	12%	0	3.5%	0
Cousin	7%	0	3.5%	4%
Father	14%	36%	0	0
Both Self and Spouse	9%	0	17%	4%
Another Family Member	0	0	3.5%	0
Self and Other	0	0	3.5%	0
Total	100% (43)	100% (11)	100% (29)	100% (25)

Table 7.5

Percent of Budget Contributed by Authority in Household

Response to Question: "Do you feel you have more authority in the household because you work?"

	No	Yes
Percent Contributed to Household Budget		
0 - 35	48%	23%
36 - 50	8%	3%
51 - 75	30%	27%
76-100	14%	47%
Total	100% 75	100% 30

Table 7.6 demonstrates that although women do not always equate making important decisions in the household with household authority, there is a tendency for women who make important decisions in the household to see themselves as having more authority.

Table 7.6

Who makes Important Decisions in the
Household by Women's Authority

Response to Question: "Do you feel you have more
authority in the household because you work?"

Important Decision-Maker	No	Yes
Spouse	10%	3%
Self	23%	70%
Both	14%	13%
Brother	1%	0
Mother	13%	0
Father	13%	0
Parents	10%	3%
Sister	3%	0
Each individual	7%	7%
Other Female relative	3%	3%
Other Male relative	3%	0
Total	100% (78)	100% (30)

Culture and the Household

In order to understand how women's labor force incorporation affects patterns of household authority and decision-making, we must understand the culture in which the women live and work. The mediating function of the family or household is fundamental to understand the reproduction of

social values, which are reflected in household authority patterns. The socialization process of the family provides children with a map to guide them through their lives. Knowledge about the world is imparted through the family. The degree to which parental structure influences the socialization of children depends, to a large extent, on the structure of the household.

Virginia Guttierrez de Pineda states that the dominant factor of authority in Colombia is patriarchy, stimulated largely by the Church and the State, who strive to maintain men in positions of power. According to Guttierrez de Pineda (1986), children pass through a brief period when their activities are indistinguishable by gender. Later on, the boy follows the father, and helps him with his tasks, and the girl does the same, guided by the mother and her values within the home. A period of socialization takes place, in which the young boy is converted into a shadow of his father and gradually assumes his tasks. The daughter is socialized in the image of her mother, just as the male child assumes the roles of his father.

According to Rojas de Gonzales (1986) even though the number of women who enter productive work is increasing, one still observes "cultural and economic characteristics which are slow to change". She states:

. . . cultural and economic characteristics which are only slowly eradicated, transmitted through education and tradition from one generation to another give way to family structures in which men dominate over women. (P. 86 my translation).

Rojas de Gonzalez goes on to elaborate five principal issues affecting the Colombian family in the recent decade. The following aspects centralized in the urbanized districts of the intermediate and large cities include: (1) The decreasing influence of the family in urban areas under highly competitive

circumstances (both economic and otherwise) emphasizing individual achievement; (2) The tendency to permit women greater independence as they increase their economic security; (3) According to a study by Ligia Echeverry de Ferrufino (1987), the frequent and diverse types of de-facto union which make up to 30% of the couples in the urban areas of Colombia lead to increasing instability of the household; (4) The increasing amount of domestic violence (Casa de la Mujer 1986) and (5) The influence of the mass media on the values and ethics of the Colombian family. The increasingly widespread availability of television and other forms of mass media portray a set of values and needs which do not necessarily reflect the capacity of the average Colombian household.

All of these factors contribute to the changing values of the Colombian family, both within the household and workplace. Although it is anticipated that women's income generation will increase their participation in household decision making, this is not a direct correlation as the following excerpts from interviews indicates (also see Ethnographic Vignettes in Appendix D).

An analysis of ethnographic information from the interviews demonstrates that the women's perception of 'authority' in the household is an important factor to be considered in interpreting the data. The authority and headship of the household is a result of the interaction of economic, socio-demographic and socio-cultural factors. For example, when the women were asked "Do you think that you have more authority in the household because of your work?" a variety of responses were encountered. Their clarification of the responses provides additional information about the women's interpretation of authority within the household.

"No, work doesn't give one the right to command in the house." (Interview #90)

"No, just because I work and provide some income, doesn't mean that I'm going to demand more power" (Interview # 79)

"No, I wouldn't consider it fair"(Interviews #75, 76, 78)

"No, the decisions are made between the two" (Interview #125)

"The fact that one works doesn't give one any more authority, nor does it take any away" (Interview #127)

"No, Everything is done together, there is no individuality" (Interview #132)

"No, The fact that one works is a personal achievement, everyone benefits" (Interview #139)

"All are equal and have the same rights." (Interview #112)

Those who did state that the work provided them with an economic basis for more authority in the household stated the following:

"Yes, I'm contributing something and living experiences which permit me to have more authority in the household and demonstrate that I, too, am a person" (Interview # 89)

"Yes, but I only give orders to my children." (Interview # 68)

"I think so, because if I didn't work, my husband would be on my back more. Working gives one more freedom." (Interview # 119)

"Yes, by having an income one has more security, more autonomy." (Interview # 131)

A few women reiterated the traditional belief that the male should be considered the household head:

"No, I don't have more authority because the man is the one who controls the household and makes the orders." (Interview #48)

"No, the man should always be the one to rule in the household." (Interview # 114)

Others expressed another culturally traditional belief that parents should rule, demonstrating the significance of age in determining household authority patterns.

"The authority always belongs to the eldest person" (Interview # 118)

"No, in any case one always has to ask permission from mama for everything." (Interview #121)

"No, mama has always been the boss." (Interview #126)

"No, the parents should have the authority, both should rule" (Interviews, #102, 113).

However, by far, the majority of those who did not feel they had more authority interpreted the concept of authority to mean dominance in household decision making. They did not perceive their work as giving them more "dominance" in the process of household decision-making, but in some cases it contributed to more egalitarian relationships in the household. In this sense, their concept of the ideal model of power relationships in the household was more democratic than those who reflected the traditional "machismo" ideology of authority in which men dominate.

Conclusions

This chapter analyzes significant socio-economic and demographic factors affecting household decision-making patterns. Workplace, position in household, and access and control of budget were considered as significant variables influencing women's decision making power in the household. Although workplace affected women's income generating possibilities, it was not a significant predictor of household decision making. Home ownership, although significantly different by workplace, was not a significant predictor of authority patterns either. The percent of income contributed to the household budget was a significant predictor of the women's perception of who controls the budget. In fact, women who contribute more to the household budget state that their increased income positively affects their position of authority within the household. In turn, women's position in the household was found to be a significant predictor of her contribution to the household budget with female heads of households contributing more. When testing authority patterns against workplace and controlling for women's position in the household, female factory workers who were single mothers and household heads consistently felt that they had more authority in the household. These were also the workers whose budgetary contributions were higher. These households also had fewer male members, indicating that it is more common for women workers to have authority over other women than other men.

When testing the response to the question, "Do you feel that you have more authority in the household because of your work?" against the age,

educational level of the worker, position of the worker in the household and contribution to the household budget, the only statistically significant factor (at the .05 level) was contribution to the household budget. Ethnographic information from interviews demonstrate that the majority of the workers interviewed do not consider that their paid employment alone gives them more authority in the household. Rather, it is increased contribution to the household budget which was the most powerful predictor of women's perception of her household authority.

CHAPTER EIGHT CONCLUSIONS

The uneven and unrestricted expansion of capitalism (in Colombia) brought poverty at the same time as it created wealth. Two economies emerged to mirror the two faces of the political order: the formal, measured economy with its impressive statistics of economic growth, and the other, where the majority of people live and work, the so-called informal economy.

Pearce 1991

This research analyzed the relationship between the organization of gender relations in the household and women's labor force incorporation. In order to analyze the impact of industrial restructuring on social reproduction of households, this research considered: 1) the impact of changes within the domestic cycle of the household on (a) the availability of female labor, and (b) new patterns of household authority resulting from women's sources of income, 2) the impact of factory recruitment strategies on women's labor force incorporation, and 3) the impact of changes in the structure of production, due to both political and economic pressures in the region, on women's labor force incorporation and the composition and structure of the workers' households.

Women's labor force incorporation is conditioned by the demand for laborers as expressed in recruitment strategies of factories, and the changing structure of production within the industry. As in other

multinational industries, the managers of the multinational garment factory studied in this research expressed the policy practice of hiring only women under 25 years of age with an education equivalent to 10th grade, preferably single with no children. Obviously these requirements limit the women who will be hired for this type of work. This recruitment strategy was not expressed by the factories with solely domestic capital, only those with mixed capital. Further, in Colombia both the political condition and the economic situation have encouraged the development of small micro-enterprises subcontracted to the larger factories. The great majority of workers in these small micro-enterprises which produce garments in Risaralda are women (SENA 1987). Encouraging the development of small-scale enterprises without regulating the types of contracts possible with the larger factories, increases the exploitation of women workers in these small factories. In fact, women working in the small-scale enterprises are paid the lowest salaries and given the worst benefits of any other workers (interview of History Professor in Pereira 1988).

Research Findings

At the household level, this research describes how women's domestic responsibilities and social relationships in the household limit her options in the labor market. It was found that women with additional household responsibilities (especially wives and mothers) are more likely to participate in home-based production. However, female heads of household are more frequently found in the factory where they can command higher salaries. Further, differences in household composition lead to different social

relationships which are correlated with different authority patterns within the household.

Marriage and childcare also affect women's labor force incorporation. Single women and female household heads worked more frequently in the factory, while married women are more likely to work in subcontracted industrial outwork. Industrial outworkers also have more children. In addition, women's contribution to the household budget was higher if she was the household head. This research provides tentative findings related to patterns of household extension. Female headed households tend to become extended by incorporating workers, while male headed households more frequently incorporate consumers.

At the workplace level this research has demonstrated how informal methods of contracting labor are increasing due largely to increasing international competition which requires cheaper labor. This increasing informality of contracts, includes not only subcontracted industrial outwork but also labor relationships within the factory (especially the factory with solely domestic capital) making them less stable. This increasing informalization of the labor market and utilization of subcontracting leads to increasing subordination of women's position in the labor market.

The relationship between the household and workplace is quite complex. Both the structure of the labor market and the structure of the household determine women's labor force incorporation, but not in isolation. The structure of the household affects the supply of workers available to meet the labor market demand for workers. This includes such factors as the age and marital status of women, their position in the household, and their household composition.

Theoretical Contributions of this Study

In light of the research presented in this dissertation, we now return to some of the initial questions presented in Chapter One. This research describes the impact of industrial restructuring and fragmentation of the production process (which facilitates capital accumulation in the large enterprises) on social reproduction of the household. It considers both material (i.e. economic contributions to the household budget) and ideological (i.e. patterns of household decision making) factors affecting household patterns of interaction. This study confirms the hypothesis stated by Beneria and Roldan (1987) and Safa (1990) that women's control over their incomes (as measured in contribution to the household budget) contributes to their perception of their authority in the household.

In theoretical discussions of women's work, it is important to emphasize the role played by ideology in analyzing economic reality, while also considering the material bases of ideological processes. For example, the concentration of wives and mothers in subcontracted industrial outwork is, in part, the consequence of conditioning factors that include ideological elements such as the "proper" role of wife and mother, and material elements such as the household's division of labor, and the husband's contribution to the household income (Beneria and Roldan 1987). Also, these women can afford to earn less because they generally have a male wage earner. In the workplace, the interaction between material and ideological factors are also in evidence. For example, lower wages for women are related to occupational segregation and also to an

ideological justification of women as secondary or supplemental income earners (see also Beneria and Roldan 1987, Safa 1990).

This research contributes to the literature on women and development. The analytical perspective provided here critiques the modernization framework which states that development increases women's status. Though with the new international division of labor, women (as opposed to men) are more frequently incorporated into the labor force of the multinational industries, these jobs pay poorly and offer little advancement. This new international division of labor is part of industrial restructuring on the international level which places firms with domestic capital at increasingly disadvantageous positions. These firms with domestic capital more frequently resort to subcontracting in a chain like fashion (as described in Chapter Four) to cut costs in both labor and infrastructure. At the national level women working in factories or as subcontracted industrial outworkers are also subordinated to the needs of both national and international capitalists.

In considering the impact of industrial restructuring on social reproduction, this research emphasized how fragmentation of the labor process contributes to women's subordination in the workplace and in subcontracted industrial outwork. Integral to the fragmentation of the production process are studies which document the impact that the new international division of labor has on women's work. This study contributes further to research documenting the employment of women as a cheap source of labor utilized by multinational and national factories throughout the world (Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye 1980, Elson and Pearson 1981, Safa 1981, 1990, Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983, Beneria and Roldan 1987).

This increasing incorporation of female workers contributes to women assuming more important economic roles in the household. Household relationships were shown to change with women's labor force incorporation. However, by illustrating that women's labor force participation does not lessen her household responsibilities, this research demonstrates that labor force incorporation is not always liberating for women. On the contrary, this activity often results in women's increasing subordination and the "double day".

However, the fact that women's labor force incorporation is not necessarily "liberating" for women does not mean that women should remain at home and not work. Rather this study emphasizes that for paid employment for women to be liberating, working conditions and pay must be improved (for men as well as women) and measures must be taken to alleviate women's household burdens, not only through informal kin networks, but through greater sharing of domestic tasks with men and state support of child care.

One additional benefit of women's labor force incorporation is its impact on authority patterns. However, this is not a direct and mechanical relationship. Rather, women's increased authority in the household appears to be correlated with the extent of their contribution to the household budget. Ideological factors again play a role. It appears that in Colombia, patriarchal ideology is stronger, perhaps because of the influence of the Catholic church than in the Caribbean or Mexico (Safa 1990, Beneria and Roldan 1987).

This study contributes to research on women's labor force incorporation in Colombia such as those by Leon (1982), Deere and Leon (1982), Bonilla (1985), and Truelove (1988, 1990). Specifically this research

utilizes the methodology of Beneria and Roldan (1987) to analyze the impact of the restructuring of production on women's labor force incorporation both in the factory and the home. Unlike Beneria and Roldan, who focus solely on subcontracted industrial production, this research compares factors at both the household and factory level as they affect women's labor force incorporation. The research concludes that subcontracted industrial outwork incorporates women into the labor force in a subordinate position, reducing production costs for the larger capitalist enterprise. Further, the increasing fragmentation of the production process and the increasing use of maquila in the garment industry decreases the cost of contracting factory workers for the large multinational factories. Generally workers are only contracted for a short period of time, or for a specific order (such as an order of shirts, skirts, etc.). This increasingly subordinate incorporation of women occurs at a time when there is a growing reliance on women's contribution to the household budget for sustenance of the household which becomes particularly important in the case of the female headed households.

Prospects for the Colombian Case

In May of 1990, Colombians elected a new president - Cesar Gaviria Trujillo. The choice of candidates in this election had been severely narrowed by assassinations of three candidates, two of them representing the left. This violence, contrary to popular belief, is not solely a result of vengeful drug lords, or opportunistic politicians vying for a piece of the political pie. Rather this violence is symptomatic of a much deeper socio-

economic conflict. Behind the bloody cocaine wars lies a class struggle which has been the source of violent uprisings in the country for centuries.

Although this complex socio-economic conflict at the source of Colombia's political violence was not the focus of the research, this analysis of the female labor force in the garment industry highlights many of the difficulties facing the heterogeneous Colombian working class. This study provides a description of one sector of the working class, the garment industrial labor force, emphasizing (1) the impact of industrial restructuring on the dynamic nature of this sector of the working class, (2) the role of women in the reproduction of this class, and (3) the ideological implications for the changing material conditions of these women workers for authority patterns in the household. This study describes the lives of women forced to contribute to their families means of survival in the intermediate industrializing city of Pereira. Through an understanding of their struggles, then, can come insight into the socio-economic problems which this country must seriously examine if it is to break the century old cycle of violence.

As international capitalists continue to seek cheaper sources of labor, and Latin American countries seek new sources of capital for industrial development, the plight of workers (especially women) is difficult. However, these workers' households demonstrate considerable flexibility in their adaptation to harsh economic circumstances. Since women have traditionally been relegated to precarious economic positions, it is no surprise that they continue to represent a highly vulnerable sector of the labor force. With the economic opening in Colombia, the competition for international markets deepens. The effect on the working class households, as women

assume positions of economic importance in the household, yet continue to be incorporated in subordinate positions in the economy is hardly a desirable advance for industrial "development".

APPENDIX A

Interview with Workers

PROYECTO MAQUILADORAS

Datos sobre la unidad Domestica-PREGUNTAR A TODAS

ANNEXO A CAPITULO II

P1. Quienes de la familia han salido fuera del hogar?

Nombre / A donde / Hace cuanto / De que Trabaja / Envía Dinero

P2. Cual considera usted es la entrada economica principal en su casa?

P3. Cuanto da cada uno de los miembros de la familia para los gastos familiares?

P3a. A Quien le da el dinero del gasto?

P4. Ayuda con el quehacer de la casa?

P4a. Que hace?

1. Lavar

2. Planchar

3. Hacer las compras

4. Cuidar los niños

5. Limpiar la casa

6. Cocinar

8. No Sabe 9. NA

P4b. Cada cuando?

SI VIVE CON SU FAMILIA DE PROCREACION (No Solteras)

ANEXO A CAPITULO IIA

P1. Se ha casado usted mas de una vez?

P1b. Cuantas veces se ha casado Ud. anteriormente?

P1c. Esta en union civil?

P2. En que año se caso (se fue a vivir) con su primer marido?

P2a. Cuantos años tenía Ud cuando se caso (se fue a vivir con su primer marido) por primera vez?

P2b. Cuantos años tenía su primer marido cuando se casaron (empezaban a vivir juntos)?

P2c. En su caso, en que año (se caso) se fue a vivir con

su segundo marido?

P3. Tenia hijos cuando Ud. se caso?

P3a. Cuantos anos tenia sus hijos cuando Ud. se caso? (Nombre, edad)

P4. Cuantos anos llevan (llevaban) de casados?

P5. Le gustaria tener mas hijos, porque?

P6. Hace algo para evitarlos? Que?

P7. Cuantos hijos tiene actualmente?

P8. Cuantos anos tenia Ud. cuando tuvo el primer hijo?

P9. Si tiene hijos de menos de 6 anos, quien le ayuda a cuidar a los hijos?

P10. Cuantos de sus hijos ya se casaron?

P11. Se han casado algunas de sus hijas?

P12. Cree que tiene(n) un buen marido? Por que?

SI ES SEPARADA

P13. Usted Dice que es separada, Cuantos hijos tenia cuando se separo de su primer marido ?

P14. Cuantos anos tenia sus hijos cuando Ud. se separo? (Nombre, edad)

P15. Hace cuanto tiempo que se separo de su esposo?

P15a. Tambien se divorciaron?

P15b. Quien decidio separarse o divorciarse?

P16. Le gustaria volverse a casar, porque?

P17. Trabajaban sus hijos cuando se divorcio?

Nombre / Trabajo

P18. Recibia o recibe alguna ayuda de su esposo, aunque esten separados?

SI ES VIUDA

P19. Hace cuanto tiempo murio su esposo?

_____ (anos, meses, semanas) 8. No Sabe 9. NA

P20. Cuantos anos hace que usted esta casada con su esposo actual?

SI LA OBRERA VIVE CON SU FAMILIA DE ORIGEN (Soltera) ANNEXO A CAPITULO IIB

P1. Se casaron sus papas?

P2. Hace cuanto que viven juntos?

P2b. Usted les da dinero para el gasto?

P3. Cuantos anos tenia su mama cuando se casaron?

P4. Cuantos anos tenia su papa?

P5. Cuantos hijos en total han tenido sus papas?

SI ESTAN SEPARADOS--

P6. Hace cuanto se separaron?

P7. Porque se separaron (especificar quien tomo la decision)

SI ES VIUDA

P9. Hace cuanto enviudo? Recibe pension (Cuanto)?

DATOS GENERALES DE LA OBRERA (Repitelas para el jefe de la familia si la obrera no es jefa.)

CAPITULO III (A y B)

P1. Donde nacio?

P1a. Vino directamente de alli a Pereira?

P1b. Por que vino a Pereira

1. Trabajo 2. Familia 3 No Se 4. NA 5. Otra Razon

P1c. Cuando llego a esta ciudad estaba Ud:

1. Casada (Pase a 1d)

2. Union Civil

3. Union Temporal

4. Separada

5. Divorciada

6. Nunca Casada - Soltera

7. Otra - Especificar

8. No Sabe 9. NA

P1d. Me dijo que era casada, ¿su familia le acompaño cuando se mudo a este lugar?

1. Si, esposo y hijos 2. Si, solo esposo

3. Si, solo hijos 5. No 8. No Sabe 9. NA

P2. Trabajaba cuando llego a la ciudad?

1. Si (Pase a 2a) 5.No (Pase a Capitulo III) 8. NS 9. NA

P2a. Que tipo de trabajo consiguio primero?

P2b. Cuantos anos tenía?

P3. Enviaba parte de su ingreso a personas que viven en otra ciudad?

P3a. Mas o menos que porcentaje del sueldo envia?

1. Todo

2. Mas que la mitad

3. Mitad

4. Menos que la mitad

8. No Sabe 9. NA

ANEXO A CAPITULO IIIC

HISTORIA DE TRABAJO

P1. Trabaja su papa? (si no, en que trabajaba?)

P1a. Hasta que ano estudio su papa?

P2. Trabaja su mama? (si no, en que trabajaba?)

P2a. Hasta que ano estudio su madre?

P3. Cuanto hace que trabaja en la costura?

P3a. Trabajo antes como modista?

P3b. Como aprendio a coser?

P3c. Cuantos anos tenia?

P4. En cuantos lugares ha cosido por sueldo, cuando y porque ha dejado de trabajar?

P5. Que hacia antes de entrar a trabajar como costurera?

P5a. Cuantos anos tuvo cuando tenia el primer trabajo pagado? y cual fue?

P6 Con que frecuencia recibe el salario del primer empleo?

P7 Cuanto es su ingreso mensual?

1. Entre 1.000 - 24.999 mil
2. Entre 25.000 - 37.499 mil
3. Entre 37.500 - 49.999 mil
4. Entre 50.000 - 62.499 mil
5. Entre 62.500 - 74.999 mil
6. Mas que 75.000 8. No sabe

P8 Cual es el ingreso familiar total mensual?

1. Entre 1.000 - 24.999 mil
2. Entre 25.000 - 37.499 mil
3. Entre 37.500 - 49.999 mil
4. Entre 50.000 - 62.499 mil
5. Entre 72.500 - 74.999 mil
6. 75.000 y mas 8. No Sabe

P9 Firmo Ud. un contrato?

P10 Sabe Ud. las condiciones de su contrato?

P10a. Cuales son?

DATOS DE LAS OBRERAS FABRILES

ANNEXO A CAPITULO IIIC1

P1. En que fabrica trabaja actualmente?

P2. Porque busco este trabajo?

P2a. Como supo de el?

P2b. Cuanto tiempo lleva trabajando aqui?

- P3. Cual es su horario?
 P4. Que pasa si llega tarde?
 P5. Que pasa si falta?
 P6. Realiza Ud. horas extras en su trabajo? (Sondea si de forma voluntaria o de forma obligitario?)
 P6a. Con que frecuencia trabaja horas extras?
 P6b. A Como le paga las horas extras?
 P6c. El mes pasado, Cuantas horas extras trabajo?
 P7. Como se organizan los descansos?
 P8. Cual es su horario diario (sondea a que hora se levanta, que hace, a que hora se acuesta, etc.)
 P9. Que produce la fabrica donde trabaja?
 P9a. Hace trabajo para otras fabricas de ropa?
 P9b. Mando trabajo para otras fabricas de ropa?
 P10. Que tipo de maquinas tiene la fabrica (industrial, pedal, etc)?
 P11. Cuantas obreras tiene la fabrica?
 P12. Como se organiza el trabajo en la fabrica (por ejemplo hay cuotas minimas, etc.)?
 P13. En que consiste su trabajo (como es que la pusieron alli)?
 P14. Hace lo mismo que cuando empezo aqui?
 P14a. Que hacia antes?
 P15. Hay premio y castigos?
 P16. Cuales son?
 P17. Le hicieron pruebas para contratarla?
 P17a. En que consistieron?
 P17b. Le pagaron por ellas?
 P18. Firmo papeles para empezar a trabajar?

Por observacion

19. El campo de trabajo es de pie, sentado o cambia?
 P20. Tiene buena luz, ventilacion, es comoda su silla?

Preguntar

- P21. Que maquina maneja Ud. ?
 P22. Le pagan por pieza o le dan salario?
 1. Por pieza 5. Salario 9. NA
 P22a. Cuanto gana por pieza o mensual?
 P23. Sabe Ud. cual es el salario minimo oficial?
 P23a. Cuanto ganaba Ud.(semanal o mensual) cuando comenzo a trabajar en esta fabrica?
 P23b. Cuanto gana ahora?
 P23c. Se mantiene la familia con su salario?
 P24. Ademas de los ingresos por su(s) trabajo(s) ?Que otra entrada economica se genera en el hogar y quien la aporta?
 (Sondear si es necesario: Por ejemplo: rentas, pensiones por

accidentes, ayuda de familiares, vende hielo o ropa, pension del padre para el (los) hijo(s)?)

P25. Como distribuye usted su salario (En que gasta Usted su salario)? Le pide permiso a alguien para gastarlo? A quien?

P26. Ademas de su sueldo que otras prestaciones tiene?

P27. La empresa le admite trabajar durante su embarazo? Hasta que tiempo?

P27a. Tiene licencia de Maternidad (40 dias habiles)?

P27b. Le da permiso de lactancia (una hora?)

P28. Se ha embarazado alguna vez?

P29. Porque trabaja ahora?

P29a. Porque empezo a trabajar?

P29b. Dejaría de trabajar si pudiera?

P30. Ha visto Ud. muchos cambios en las condiciones de la fabrica desde que comenzo a trabajar aqui?

P31. Ademas del dinero, en que la ha beneficiado trabajar?

P32. En su caso, cuanto tiempo piensa trabajar?

SI LE PAGAN AL DESTAJO

P36. Cuanto gano la semana pasada?

P37. Cuantas piezas cosio?

P38. Como se lleva el control de lo que cose?

P39. Siempre hace lo mismo?

P39a. Como se decide que va a hacer Ud. (le hacen pruebas o otra cosa)?

P40. Le piden un minimo de piezas?

P40a. Que pasa si no las hace?

OBRERAS DOMICILIARIAS
ANEXO A CAPITULO IIIC2

- P1. Porque trabaja en la casa en vez de trabajar en la fabrica?
- P1a. Para quien trabaja?
- P1b. Cuanto tiempo lleva trabajando en casa?
- P1c. Cual es su horario? (Cuantas horas trabajas diario?)
- P2. Como consiguio este trabajo?
- P3. Ha tenido problemas en cuanto al pago del trabajo? (Cuales son)
- P4. Se lo traen o Ud. va a buscarlo?
- P4a. Donde recoge el trabajo (para que fabrica trabaja)?
- P4b. Cada cuando recoge y entrega?
- P4c. Como se organiza Ud. para recoger y entregar?
- P4d. Le exigen cuota fija?
- P4e. Como sabe como le van a pagar?
- P4f. Se lo revisan antes de pagarle?
- P4g. Que pasa si no les gusta su trabajo?
- P5. Cada cuando se lo traen?
- P5a. Le traen siempre lo mismo?
- P5b. Le piden cuota fija?
- P5c. Que pasa si no cumple con ella?
- P5d. Cuando sabe como le van a pagar?
- P6. Que cosio la semana pasada?
- P7. A como le pagaron cada pieza?
- P8. Cuantas horas trabajo ayer?
- P9. Cuantas piezas hizo?
- P10. Le dieron todo el material?
- P11. Puso Ud. el hilo?
- P12. Cuantos dias a la semana trabaja regularmente?
- P12a. Siempre hace lo mismo?
- P13. Es suya la maquina de costura?
- P14. Como lo compro?
- P15. Que tipo de maquina es
- P16. Quien paga su mantenimiento?
- P17. Le ayudan alguien de la familia con la costura (quien?)?
- P17a. A veces o de manera regular?
- P17b. Cuanto dinero ganaba Ud. cuando comenzo a trabajar en casa?
- P17c. Cuanto dinero gana ahora?
- P18. Ademas de su sueldo, que otras prestaciones tiene?
- P19. Porque trabaja?
- P19a. Porque empezo a trabajar?
- P20. Que hace Ud. con el dinero que gana?
- P20a. Se mantiene la familia con su salario?

P20b. Además de los ingresos por sus trabajos que otra entrada económica se genera en el hogar y quien le aporta? (por ejemplo: rentas, pensiones por accidentes, ayuda de familiares, vende ropa, comida, pension del padre para los hijos, etc.)

P20b1 Le pide permiso a alguien para gastarlo?

P20c. Que gastos de la casa cubre el marido?

P20d. Que gastos de la casa cubre Ud?

P20e. Le queda algo de ahorrar o para gastos personales?

P22. Dejaría de trabajar si pudiera?

P23. Conoce otras señoras que costen?

ORGANIZACION FAMILIAR

CAPITULO IV

P1. De quien es esta casa?

P2. Como la consiguieron?

P3 Como se organizan los gastos de la casa?

P4 Quien los administra?

P5 Quien toma las decisiones importantes en la casa?

1. Ella 5. Su esposo

6. Otra persona (especificar) _____

8. No Sabe 9. NA

P6 Quien decide si los hijos van a la escuela?

1. Ella 5. Su esposo

6. Otra persona _____

8. No Sabe 9. NA

P7 Quien decide que van a comprar con la canasta familiar?

1. Ella 5. Su esposo

6. Otra persona

8. No Sabe 9. NA

- P8 Quien decide si los hijos trabajan?
1. Ella 5. Su esposo
6. Otra persona
- P9 Cree que porque usted trabaja tiene mas autoridad en la casa?
Porque:___
- P10 Que tipo de trabajo hace su esposo actualmente?
P10a. En que trabajaba antes?
P10b. Se ha encontrado su esposo desempleado alguna vez?
1.Si, cuantas veces _____ 2. No 8. No Sabe 9. NA
- P11. Podria su familia mantener el mismo nivel de vida que tiene ahora si usted no trabajara?
- P12. Que tal satisfecha esta Ud. con su vida? Por que? (Vease la hoja separada)
- P13. Si pudiera cambiar algun aspecto de su trabajo, cual seria?
- P14. Que tal satisfecha esta Ud. ahora con su trabajo?
P15. Que es lo que mas le gusta a Usted de su trabajo actual?
P15a. Que es lo que menos le gusta?
- P16. Le gustaria que su hija (si la tuviera) hiciera este trabajo?
- P17. Su sueldo rinde actual que antes? (porque lo dice?)
- P18. Que otras cambios se ha notado en la situacion actual recientemente?
- P19. Si perdiera este trabajo, que haria Usted?
- P20. Hay otra cosa que le gustaria contarme?

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire for personnel managers (In Spanish)

Cuestionario para los gerentes encargados de personal

Estoy realizando un estudio para el título del doctorado describiendo las condiciones de producción industrial actual en la industria de confecciones y a futura expansión de la industria de confección en Colombia.

P1. Nombre de la Empresa

P2. Año de fundación:

P3. Casa Matriz y origen (Ownership - another company).

P4. Que tipo de ropa produce la fabrica?

P5. Numero de empleados/obreros

Total

Hombres:

Mujeres:

P5a. Distribución ocupacional:

Administrativa: No. Hombres:

No. Mujeres:

Operarios: No. Hombres

No. Mujeres

Supervisoras: No. Hombres

No. Mujeres

Secretarias: No. Hombres

No. Mujeres

P6. Tiene contratas con otras fabricas para hacerles trabajo? Cuales? y que hace?

P6A. Hace cuanto hacia trabajo para otras fabricas?

Por Que?

P7. Manda trabajo para otras fabricas? Que porcentaje? A quien se lo manda? Que parte del proceso de producción manda?

P7A. Porque manda trabajo para otras fabricas?

P7B. Hace cuanto manda trabajo para otras fabricas?

P7C. Manda trabajo a trabajadores en sus casas? Que porcentaje? Porque?

Ventas: Especifique porcentajes o numeros absolutos.

P8. Exportan productos de confección a otros países?

OPCIONAL

P8a. A donde exportan (y cuanto se exportan)?
(1987-1988 or 1986-1987)

Años anteriores 1982 _____

P8b. Cuanto vende en el mercado domestico?

Colombia: _____

PREGUNTAR A TODAS

P9. Piensa usted que tiene buenos oportunidades en el mercado domestico para sus productos? Porque?

P9a. Piensa que tiene buenos oportunidades en el mercado internacional? Porque?

P10. Cual es el tipo de relacion laboral con los empleados administrativos?

P10A. Cual es el tipo de relacion laboral con los operarios?

P11. Prefieran costureras recomendado de canales formales (como SENA) o informales? (vecina, hermana, etc.)? Porque?

P11a. Cuantas mujeres toman cursos formales?

P12. Tiene servicio de guarderia o un subsidio respectivo?

1. Si 5. NO 8. NA

P13. Ademas del sueldo que otras prestaciones legales reciben los trabajadores (como seguro social, etc.)?

P13a. Ademas del sueldo que otras prestaciones extra-legales reciben los trabajadores (como bienestar familiar, cajas de compensacion)?

P14. Ha cambiado mucho la estructura de produccion de la fabrica desde 1982 ?

P14a. Como les ha afectado las devaluaciones de las monedas en los paises vecinos?

P15. Hay sindicato en la fabrica?

OPCIONAL

P15a. Cuales son los sindicatos (o el sindicato) de la fabrica?

P15b. Si no hay sindicato, firman un pacto o un convenio colectivo con trabajadores?

PREGUNTAR A TODAS

P16. Como se organizan los descansos en la fabrica?

P17. Como se organiza el trabajo en la fabrica? Por ejemplo hay cuotas minimas, etc.

P18. Existe algun tipo de incentivo o prima?

P19a. Que pasa si no cumplen programas establecidas?

P20. Hacen pruebas para contrarar los empleados? En que consisten las pruebas?

P21. Con que frecuencia (y en que casos) trabajan horas

extras?

P22. Me podría dar una lista de todas las empleadas para entrevistas informales en sus casas?

P23. Hay otra cosa que le gustaría contarme?

P24. Me permite mirar los archivos de personal para sacar una muestra representativa de las trabajadoras?

P25. Me permite hablar con trabajadoras sociales de las fábricas?

APPENDIX C

Spouse Employment

Table C.1, Spouse Employment by Workplace, shows that the occupation of spouses varies significantly within each category. However, there is no major difference which can be noted between the two categories. This data do not support the hypothesis that spouses in home-based workers households have more stable employment. However, only data gathered in homes where spouses were present demonstrate the occupation of a male wage earner. In other households where the head was the father, or brother, the occupation of the major income earners was not noted unless the worker was the daughter. This data, therefore, cannot be used to support or refute the hypothesis that the employment of household heads in home-based households is more stable than that of factory worker households.

Table C.1
Spouse Employment by Workplace
Workplace

	Home	Factory
Watchman	5	4
Construction Worker	0	3
Cafeteria Worker	0	2
Chauffeur, Bus Driver	4	3
Metal Factory Worker	0	3
Accountant	0	1
Solderer	3	1
Musician	0	1
Artisan	1	3
Furniture Worker	0	3
Mechanic	3	2
Merchant	2	2
(Agricultural)		
Fisherman	0	1
Agriculturalist	1	0
Garment Store	2	0
Journalist	1	1
Shoe Repair	1	0
Design/Garments	2	1
Textiles	0	1
Spouse Absent/no info	10	43
Total	35	75

Further, Table C.2 demonstrates that type of spouse employment had little influence on authority.

Table C.2
Type of Spouse Employment by Authority in the Household

Response to Question: "Do you feel you have more authority in the household because you work?"

Spouse Employment	No	Yes
Artisan	1	3
Furniture Worker	2	1
Mechanic	3	2
Merchant (Agricultural)	3	1
Fisherman	1	0
Agriculturalist	1	0
Garment Store	1	1
Journalist	1	1
Shoe Repair	1	0
Spouse Absent/no info	12	38
<hr/>		
Total	35	75

Appendix D

Household Ethnographies

Factory Worker's Household

Angela 29 has three children Sergio 10, Ruben 9, and Marcia 5. She came to Pereira from a nearby rural community with her family and husband when she was 18. They came to Pereira to look for work. Her father died four years ago, at which time Angela began to work in a garment factory. Although she had never worked as a seamstress, she quickly learned to sew in the large multinational factory. She worked in the factory for 7 months, but the schedule was difficult (from 7 in the evening to 6 in the morning Monday through Thursday, Fridays from 7 till 5 and Saturday from 12 until production was finished, sometimes going on until 10:00 at night). She was fired when she had her third child.

However, one year after the birth of her child, they called her again. She worked from 7 at night till 6 in the morning again. When she returned home from the factory she prepared breakfast for her husband and got her children off to school. The youngest daughter stayed with a neighbor while Angela slept. During the evening while she was at work, her husband (unemployed) watched the children. (Angela's husband had worked in a small micro-enterprise which made shoes, but the shop went bankrupt and he lost his job in the fall of 1988.) Usually Angela went to bed at 8 or 9 in the morning and slept till 2 or 3 in the afternoon.

When her children arrived home from school she'd prepare them some dinner and prepare her "lunch" for work then leave to catch the bus for the 20 minute ride to the factory. However, because Angela did not meet her production quotas, she was transferred to one of the factories which subcontracted to the large multinational factory and made women's blouses. This factory was smaller. Whereas the other large multinational factory employed over 900 operators, this factory employed only 300 workers, and had approximately 4 workshops. However Angela stated that it was very hot in the factory, especially during the day. Although she does not enjoy her work, Angela's contribution to the household budget is essential for the economic survival of her family. (Interview #11)

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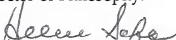
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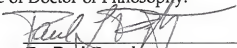
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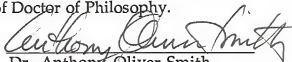
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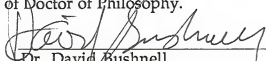


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